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THE BOEOTIAN FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

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The fragment of a lost Greek historian published in the fifth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*¹ in 1908 contains a succinct description of the federal constitution of Boeotia as it existed in the year 395 B.C. which Eduard Meyer² has described as "das Glanzstück des ganzen Fragments." By means of the new evidence now available it is possible to gain a clear idea of this early experiment in federal government. The chapter in question is rendered by the editors as follows:³

There were then appointed in each of the cities [i.e. of Boeotia] four boulai, of which not all the citizens were allowed to become members, but only those who possessed a certain amount of money; of these boulai each one in turn held a preliminary sitting and deliberation about matters of policy and made proposals to the other three, and a resolution adopted by all became valid. Their local affairs they continued to manage in that fashion, while the arrangement of the Boeotian league was this. The whole population of the country was divided into eleven units, and each of these provided one Boeotarch as follows. The Thebans contributed four, two for the city and two for Plataea, Scolus, Erythrae, Scaphae, and the other towns which formerly were members of one state with the Plataeans, but at that time were subject to Thebes. Two Boeotarchs were provided by the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Hysiae, and two by the inhabitants of Thespiæ with Eutresis and

¹ The Greek text was republished by Grenfell and Hunt in 1909 in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* under the title *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. The editors designate the unknown author as P.

² Theopomps *Hellenika* (Halle, 1909) 92.

³ *Oxyrhy. Papy.* V, 223, and chap. xi of the Greek text.

Thisbae, one by the inhabitants of Tanagra, and another by the inhabitants of Haliartus, Lebadea, and Coronea, each of these cities sending him in turn; in the same way one came from Acraephium, Copae, and Chaeronea. Such was the proportion in which the chief magistrates were appointed by the different units, which also provided sixty senators for every Boeotarch, and themselves defrayed the daily expenses.¹ Each unit was, moreover, under the obligation to supply a corps of approximately a thousand hoplites and a hundred horsemen. To speak generally, it was in proportion to the distribution of their magistrates² (i.e. Boeotarchs) that they enjoyed the privileges of the league,³ made their contributions, sent judges, took part in everything whether good or bad.⁴ The nation then as a whole had this form of polity, and the general assemblies of the Boeotians used to meet in the Cadmea.

There were in all ten⁵ sovereign cities in Boeotia. Their uniform constitutions may be described as limited democracies or as liberal oligarchies. The franchise depended upon a property qualification without reference to birth: but we may be sure that in a conservative and agricultural state like Boeotia the bulk of the property was still in the hands of the nobles. No doubt the description of the oligarchic party in Plataea as "the leading men in wealth and birth"⁶

¹ οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔφερε τὰ μέρη τοὺς ἀρχοντας· παρείχοντο δὲ καὶ βουλευτὰς ἐξήκοντα κατὰ τὸν βουλευτάρχη, καὶ τοῦτοι αὐτοὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνήλσκον.

Glötz, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* XXXII (1908), 272, without warrant infers that the senators defrayed their own expenses.

² τοὺς ἀρχοντας. There is no suggestion here or elsewhere that there was an archon of the league as Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece*, 128, maintained.

³ Glötz, *op. cit.* 272, points out that the words τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέλαυνον refer specifically to the financial benefits of the league.

⁴ "Shared equally in all the burdens and the benefits of the league" is nearer to the original: μετέειχον ἀπάντων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

⁵ Meyer, *op. cit.* 94, agrees with the editors that "each of the cities" includes only the ten sovereign cities—Thebes, Thespieae, Tanagra, Orchomenus, Haliartus, Copae, Coronea, Acraephium, Lebadea, Chaeronea. Goligher, *Class. Review* XXII (1908), 81, and Glötz, *op. cit.* 271 ff., think that every city in Boeotia, whether independent, or subordinate to another, as Hysiae (Hyettos) was to Orchomenus, or Eutresis and Thisbae to Thespieae, was governed by four senates. Thucydides in describing the battle of Delium says that the eleven Boeotarchs and troops from "all the cities" were present. Without professing to enumerate these cities he mentions the first seven in the list above, and "the other dwellers around the lake Copais," evidently referring to Acraephium and Lebadea. Chaeronea is omitted because it was still subordinate to Orchomenus (Thucyd. iv. 91, 93, and 76). The practical agreement between P and Thucydides seems to show that these are the only towns that were regarded as cities. The rest would rank as villages.

⁶ Thucyd. iii. 65, 2.

could have been applied to the governing class in any of the cities. The amount of the property qualification is nowhere mentioned. The provision of pay for federal senators would seem to indicate that it was relatively low. There are several considerations that render it probable that political rights were enjoyed only by those who could furnish themselves with the equipment of a man-at-arms or a cavalryman. According to the federal constitution each division was required to furnish 1,000 men-at-arms and 100 cavalrymen. The failure to mention light-armed troops, of whom more than 10,000 took part in the battle of Delium¹ in 424 B.C., is clearly due to the fact that they did not possess political rights. Ability to furnish one's self with arms was the basis of the franchise in the constitution attributed to the Athenian Draco.² And the opponents of democracy in Athens constantly advocated this reform. On the overthrow of the Four Hundred the franchise was for a time limited to those who could equip themselves for military service.³

The maximum fighting strength of the league was 12,100 men. Consequently, according to Beloch's principle, the total number of citizens would amount to nearly 20,000.⁴ These would constitute 68 per cent of the free male population, which Beloch estimates at 29,000. In point of liberality this percentage compares favorably with the proposals of the Athenian revolutionists of 411 B.C. to limit the franchise to 5,000, that is, 25 per cent of the adult male population. Even under the moderate democracy which was instituted on the overthrow of the oligarchy the citizens⁵ amounted to 9,000, or 45 per cent of the population.⁶

We are not told how the local senates were recruited, but I am inclined to think that all the citizens found a place in one or other of the senates. According to the proposed Athenian constitution of 411 B.C. the whole body of citizens were members of the quadrapartite senate, each section of which was to hold office for one year.⁷

¹ Thucyd. iv. 93; cf. Meyer *op. cit.* 94, note 2. ² Arist. *Const. of Athens* iv. 2.

³ Aristoph. *Wasps* 1120; Thucyd. viii. 65, 97. Aristotle, *op. cit.* xxxiii. 2.

⁴ *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* 162 ff.

⁵ Beloch *op. cit.* 107; Meyer *Forschungen* II, 403 ff. This constitution is highly praised by Thucydides and Aristotle (viii. 97; *op. cit.* xxxiii. 2).

⁶ Unlike the Boeotian senates the Athenian sections were not to meet together. A body of approximately 5,000 was evidently regarded as unwieldy. For the con-

Thucydides¹ mentions "the four senates of the Boeotians" in connection with negotiations for a treaty with Corinth in the year 421-20. "But before the ratification of the treaty, the Boeotarchs communicated their negotiations to the four *senates* of the Boeotians, whose sanction is always necessary, and recommended that oaths of alliance be offered to any cities which might be willing to join them for mutual protection. But the *senators* rejected their proposals, fearing that they might offend the Lacedaemonians if they entered into an alliance with the Corinthians who had revolted from them. For the Boeotarchs did not tell them what had passed at Sparta, thinking that the *senate* whether informed of this or not would ratify their decision when communicated to it." These senates have been universally regarded as a federal body, though Koehler² was the first to suggest that the four met together, as in fact we now see that they did. It is therefore astonishing to find that the editors maintain that Thucydides was referring to the local senates. The reason for this conclusion is that P has not said explicitly that the federal senate was quadrapartite. It follows then according to this view that the Boeotian federal body in having no part in the making of treaties was deprived of a power which is fundamental in any real federation. Shortly after the publication of the papyrus Costanzi³ expressed surprise at this feature of the constitution. Later in the same year Goligher⁴ and Glotz⁵ independently challenged this conclusion and, using much the same

sideration of important matters, however, provision was made for a joint meeting of two sections by allowing each member of the ruling section to invite one member of another section.

Koehler (*Situngsberichte der koenig-preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften* [1895] 445 ff.) is amply justified in suggesting that the Boeotian four-senate plan served as a model for the proposed permanent constitution reported by the Athenian revolutionary committee of one hundred (*Arist. Const. of Ath.* 30). This constitution never came into force. I have ventured in several instances to draw upon the Athenian document to fill in P's sketch. I am far from intending to argue seriously that any certain information regarding the Boeotian constitution can be gained in this way. It will, however, be readily admitted that suggestions based upon the Athenian document are more than mere possibilities.

¹ v. 36.

² *Op. cit.* 455 ff.

³ "Il Frammento di prosa storica testè trovato a Oxyrhynchus," *Studi storici per l'antichità classica* I (1908), 263 ff.

⁴ *Class. Review* XXII (1908), 81.

⁵ *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.* XXXII (1908), 271 ff.

arguments, showed, that it is untenable.¹ Consequently we may safely conclude that the federal senate also was quadrapartite and corresponds to the four senates mentioned by Thucydides.

Although the eleven electoral divisions were formed on the basis of population,² in no case do they cross the local political divisions. In three instances local political units contain several electoral divisions. Two other divisions combine several local sovereignties. In the case of Tanagra alone did a single local sovereignty constitute an electoral division. In all but one case the electoral divisions are geographic units.³ Freeman believed that Boeotia, like "Switzerland in the old time, contained districts which did not enjoy direct federal rights but which were connected in some subordinate way with one or other of the sovereign cities."⁴ This view proves to be substantially correct. For though Plataea, Scolus, Erythrae, Scaphae, and some other places constituted two federal divisions, they were all subordinate to Thebes and their two Boeotarchs were reckoned by P as Theban. But it has been suggested⁵ that these two Boeotarchs were always citizens of one or other of these subject communities. For in 424 B.C. only two of the eleven Boeotarchs are credited to Thebes by Thucydides.⁶ The enjoyment of direct federal rights however, could be only nominal.

There is no evidence that there were smaller confederacies within the league, as Freeman⁷ suggested. It is true that previous to 431 B.C. Plataea and several other communities along the Attic frontier constituted a league under the protection of Athens, but it was certainly dissolved when these towns were incorporated with Thebes.⁸ Neither is it at all probable that the grouping of independent cities for federal purposes amounted to, or even approximated,

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.* 93, reiterates the view of the editors without noticing the arguments urged against it. Swoboda in his review of Meyer (*Wochenschrift f. class. Phil.* [1910] 285) agrees unreservedly with Golligher and Glotz.

² The Lycian federation presents an analogous feature. Votes were assigned to the cities according to their importance. The larger cities had three votes, the medium-sized two, and the others one each (Strabo xiv. 3, 3).

³ Orchomenus separated Chaeronea from Copae and Acraephium; cf. Meyer *op. cit.* 96.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 126.

⁵ The editors cite Dittenberger's suggestion with approval (*Oxyrhyn. Papy.* V, 227).

⁶ *Ibid.* IV, 91.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 126.

⁸ *Hellen. Oxyrhyn.* XII, 3.

a real league. The right of each of these cities to elect a Boeotarch in turn, combined with the Greek instinct for local independence, would easily counteract a tendency toward union. The current opinion that each sovereign city was represented by a Boeotarch turns out to be incorrect, for each one of six cities was represented only every third year.

Nothing shows the strength of the spirit of local independence so strikingly as the organization of the federal troops. These, though contributed by the electoral divisions, were not drawn up in any uniform order nor according to the divisions they represented. But the troops from each city were drawn up together in accordance with their local military customs.¹ The terms of the league provided for an army of 12,100 hoplites and cavalry. No mention is made of quotas of other classes of troops, although over 10,000 light-armed soldiers and 500 peltasts were present at the battle of Delium, 424 B.C. The omission is due to the fact that the light-armed soldiers were recruited from the masses who did not possess the franchise and the peltasts were not distinguished from the more heavily armed hoplites.² These numbers represent the maximum that could be demanded by the federal government. At Delium the troops from all the cities amounted to 8,500. Owing to internal dissensions and the presence of Demosthenes with an Athenian force on the southern coast, a large number of troops would be required for garrison duty.³

Each senate in turn like the Athenian Prytaneis acted as a steering committee to facilitate the transaction of business. In the absence of definite information regarding the length of time that elapsed between the federal elections we may assume that they were annual and that each senate presided for a quarter of a year. In the Athenian proposed constitution of 411 B.C. the order in which each of the four senates held office was determined by lot. In all probability the lot was used in Boeotia also.

It will be observed that the representative principle is fully applied in federal matters. Freeman denies that "any Greek city, or Greek Federation, presents an example of a real Representative Assembly." In the light of the Boeotian practice the arguments

¹ Thucyd. iv. 93.

² Cf. Beloch *op. cit.* 17.

³ Meyer, *op. cit.* 94, thinks that the numbers mentioned by P are merely nominal and were never actually mustered. But he underestimates the importance of garrison service.

of those who see in the Lycian council and the Achaean Congress (*σύνδοκος*) representative bodies become more plausible.¹ In any event this single instance of true representative government shows conclusively that the representative principle is not a modern discovery.

There is no trace of a Boeotian popular assembly; in both local and federal matters the senates were supreme. Neither were there general meetings of the citizens in each electoral division. These divisions were created only for the purpose of distributing the benefits and burdens of the league proportionately. In no sense did they constitute administrative units. The ten sovereign cities were the political centers for both local and federal purposes.² Among them were distributed the electoral divisions in six groups, and their organizations were used for electing and paying federal officials. Tanagra was the center of one division, Orchomenus and Thespieae of two each, and Thebes of four. The remaining six cities were grouped in two divisions, and each elected one-third of the federal representatives and a Boeotarch every third year.

The eleven Boeotarchs were the supreme military commanders and the general administrators of federal affairs. Freeman compares their functions with those of the president of the United States. But the recommendations of the Boeotian magistrates were personally laid before the senate. Whether they had only the right to speak like the members of the Swiss Federal Council or had, like the Canadian cabinet ministers, the right to vote as well, is uncertain. The Athenian revolutionists, recognizing the advantage of co-operation between the executive and deliberative branches of government, provided that the ten generals and the magistrates should be members of the senate.³ No other federation, I believe, presents an example of a thoroughly representative executive council.⁴

¹ Freeman (206) regards the Achaean *σύνδοκος* as a primary assembly. Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte* III, 2, 198) regards it as a representative body, but his view has been rejected by Francotte (*Musée Belge* [1906] 5 ff.) and others.

² Glotz, *op. cit.* 277, who believes that each town whether independent or dependent had a quadrapartite senate, has worked out a possible scheme for the distribution of federal representatives among these towns.

³ Bury *History of Greece* 492. The Achaean federal magistrates participated in the deliberations of the senate.

⁴ Some federations have secured a partially representative executive. The Swiss constitution provides that not more than one of the 7 members of the federal

The senate's rejection of the Corinthian treaty negotiated by the Boeotarchs which has already been mentioned would seem to indicate that the power of the executive was checked by a vigorous senate. But quite the contrary is the case. The Boeotarchs would scarcely have attempted to put through a general resolution empowering themselves in the name of the Boeotian federation to enter into alliance with any Greek city, without some attempt to explain the diplomatic situation, had they not ordinarily found the senate passive and acquiescent.¹

In accordance with Greek practice, provision was made for a federal court to which each division sent judges. Such courts are frequently called supreme courts by modern writers; but the functions of a Greek federal court bore little resemblance to those of the federal courts of Switzerland, or of the United States. The jurisdiction of Greek federal courts was practically confined to offences against the league, and disputes between individuals who belonged to different communities in the federation. No specific instance of litigation before a federal court in Boeotia is recorded. The Plataean survivors who surrendered to the Peloponnesian army in 427 B.C. were tried not by the federal court but by a special Spartan court.² In point of law the Plataeans, being in alliance with Athens, did not come under the jurisdiction of the Boeotian court. It is altogether unlikely, however, that Thebes would have hesitated to cite the Plataeans before a Boeotian court as seceders from the ancestral league had she deemed it good policy to do so. But under the circumstances the Plataeans would probably not have agreed to surrender at discretion. It may be noted in this connection that at the time of the original Plataean secession (519 B.C.) the matter was

council shall be elected from the same canton (22 in number). And in Canada the governor-general always selects his advisors in such a way as to give adequate representation to the four main divisions of the country—the maritime provinces, Quebec, Ontario, and the western provinces. This is not, however, a constitutional requirement. In Mississippi provision is made for the rotation of representatives by law. For example, "the counties of Grenada and Montgomery each shall have one representative and a floater between them." In Massachusetts custom with the force of law decrees that there shall be rotation within the districts so that each town shall have its turn in sending one of its residents to the legislature every few years.

¹ Grote *History of Greece* VII, 82.

² Thucyd. iii. 52. 2.

submitted to the Corinthians as arbitrators.¹ The Boeotarchs and other federal officers would be held accountable to this court for any wrongdoing while in office.²

Disputes between citizens of different states of a modern confederacy are not tried in the federal courts unless federal laws are involved; they are tried in the local courts of either state according to the rules of private international law. In this respect there is practically no difference between cases involving citizens of federated states and those involving citizens of independent states. In Greece these matters were regulated by treaties. Such treaties were negotiated not only between independent cities but also between a colony and its mother city and between a subject community and the ruling state. In a federation cases involving citizens of different communities would naturally fall within the jurisdiction of the federal court.

The method of selecting judges was not the same in all federations. In the Lycian league the judges were appointed by the council of the league, but in Boeotia they were appointed by the citizens in the electoral divisions in the same way as senators.³

Although Boeotia was oligarchic both in the local and in the federal governments, the providing of pay for members of the national senates was a democratic measure in that it enabled any citizen to represent his electoral division at the capital. In this way the business of governing did not become a monopoly of the wealthy.⁴

¹ Although the decision of the Corinthians was rendered in a dispute that concerned Plataea alone, it laid down the general proposition that Thebes should not molest those Boeotian towns that were unwilling to accept her headship: *ἐὰν Θηβαῖοις Βοιωτῶν τοῦτ' μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοῦς τελέειν* (Herod. vi. 108).

² In the second period of the history of the league (387-334 B.C.), Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and other Boeotarchs were tried by a court in Thebes for holding office four months beyond the expiration of the year for which they were elected (Grote X, 215 ff.). If the league existed in anything like its original form the case would come before a federal court.

³ *δικαστήριά τε ἀποδίδκννται κοινῇ* (Strabo xiv. 3, 2); cf. Freeman *op. cit.* 163. Glotz very plausibly suggests (*op. cit.* 272, note 2) that the Boeotian federal court served as a model for the central court of the second Athenian confederacy. If this is true it would tend to confirm the opinion of those who maintain that this court was composed of both Athenian and allied representatives. Cf. Marshall *The Second Athenian Confederacy* (1906) 35.

⁴ Freeman (207) comments at some length on the fact that the Achaean league assembly could be attended only by those citizens who "were at once wealthy enough to bear the cost of the journey and zealous enough to bear the trouble of it." The assembly was thus practically an aristocratic body.

There is little doubt that the federal compact prescribed the exact form of the local governments.¹ At any rate Chaeronea, on being freed from the control of Orchomenus some time between 424 and 395 B.C., adopted the prevailing system. And if the attack on Plataea in 431 B.C. had succeeded the democratic constitution would have been changed to an *ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος* made up of "the foremost men in wealth and birth" who co-operated with the Thebans on that occasion.² Naturally this complete uniformity tended to strengthen the league. Modern federations are not so strict in this regard. The Swiss and the American federal constitutions merely require that the local governments shall be republican. Within this limitation there is considerable latitude,³ but in both countries the tendency has been toward uniformity.

The federal treasury was supported by fixed contributions from the local governments, and was used solely for military purposes. Federal officials, including Boeotarchs, senators, and judges, were paid by their own constituents.⁴ Although the coinage during this period was issued in the name of Thebes it was still a federal coinage, as the *Boeotian Buckler* shows.⁵

There is no trace of federal dependencies in Boeotia. The confiscation of Plataean territory was for the benefit of Thebes, not of the league. In the time of Epaminondas the government exercised control over cities outside of Boeotia.⁶

The beginning of the period to which the constitution in the main applies may be placed at 447/6 B.C.⁷ Changes occurred before

¹ It is not necessary to suppose that this provision entailed many changes, for doubtless the majority, if not all, of the cities were oligarchic in 447 B.C., as was Thebes. Cf. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums* III, 594 ff.

² Thucyd. II. 2, 2; III. 65, 2.

³ The franchise is not fixed. Neither is the representative principle obligatory. And any state is at liberty to establish one or two legislative chambers. Cf. Freeman *op. cit.* 200 ff.

⁴ It is not expressly stated that the Boeotarchs and the judges were so paid. The Boeotarchs, being the commanders of the army, might have been paid from the federal treasury, but there is no reason for making an exception in the case of the members of the federal court.

⁵ *Head Catalogue of Greek Coins*; "Central Greece" xxxvi. ff.

⁶ Cf. Bennet "The Government of Federal Territories in Europe," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1896) 391 ff.

⁷ *Oxyrhynch. Papy.* V, 225.

395 B.C., when P described it, in the composition of the electoral districts. Chaeronea, which appears as an independent city sharing with Haliartus and Lebadea the right to elect a Boeotarch in its turn, was subject to Orchomenus as late as 424 B.C.¹ Meyer² has made it clear that Erythrae, Scaphae, Scolus, and the other towns that originally belonged to Plataea were under the control of Thebes as early as 446. It thus appears that the incorporation of these and other towns with Thebes that P mentions as occurring in 431 B.C. was a military and not a political measure as one might easily suppose who had only P's account before him.³ Under these circumstances Thebes would be entitled to four Boeotarchs on the establishment of the league without waiting for the adhesion of Plataea, which did not surrender until 427 B.C.

In regard to the position of Thebes in the federation, Freeman⁴ remarked that "a single great city standing out prominently above all the others is always likely to destroy the true federal equality, and, instead of remaining a single equal member, to become first the president, and then the tyrant, of the league." New light is now thrown on the methods by which Thebes achieved her supremacy in the league. To begin with, Thebes had complete control of four of the eleven electoral districts. Both the original grouping of towns in the electoral divisions and the redistributions that occurred from time to time facilitated the increase of Theban influence. Thus the separation of Chaeronea from the control of Orchomenus both weakened a possible rival⁵ and tended to bring Chaeronea within the sphere of Theban influence. In like manner the inclusion of several

¹ Thucyd. iv. 76.

² Meyer *op. cit.* 98 ff.

³ *Hellen. Oxyrhyn.* XII, 3. The editors doubt the correctness of the author's statement that this step was due to the fear of Athenian incursions. This doubt is scarcely warranted. In fact P is indirectly confirmed by Thucydides (ii. 26). During the first year of the war Kleopompus sailed through the Euripus and made descents on the coast of Locris. His failure to make a descent on Boeotia in revenge for the treacherous attack on Plataea can now be explained. Thebes's precaution in removing the inhabitants from the open towns and villages rendered such descents useless. It is true that we hear of no attempt on the part of Athens to invade Boeotia by land, but if it was possible to invade Megara twice a year there was no reason why Boeotia might not also be invaded. But here again Thebes had taken precautions to render Athenian raids ineffective.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 120.

⁵ Meyer *op. cit.* 95; cf. Isoc. *Plat.* 10.

sovereignties in one division with the right to appoint Boeotarchs in turn tended to foster local jealousies to the advantage of Thebes. Nothing emphasizes so strikingly her dominant position as P's description of the conflict between the Spartan and the Athenian factions:

Such being the condition of affairs at Thebes, and each of the two factions being powerful, many people from the cities throughout Boeotia then came forward and joined one or other of them. At that time, and for a short period previously, the party of Ismenias and Androclidas (that is, the pro-Athenian party) was the stronger both at Thebes itself and in the senate of the Boeotians; but formerly that of Asias and Leontiades (that is, the pro-Spartan party) was in the ascendant for a considerable period and (had complete control of?) the city.¹

It thus appears that the party in control at Thebes was able to control the federal government.

The issues that divided the parties are not specified. Democracy could not be an issue between parties composed of *οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν*.² Freeman has observed that the history of Plataea and Thespieae shows that "the Athenian party was the party of the independence of the smaller cities against Thebes." The party of Ismenias may very well have gained influence in the federal senate by opposing the harsh means employed to further Theban supremacy. In modern political language it may be called the party of states' rights. It is significant in this connection that both the Thespians and the party of Ismenias were accused of "atticizing."³ Unfortunately the lines in the papyrus that describe the policy of Ismenias and his party toward Athens are so fragmentary that the sense can only be surmised. The editors paraphrase them as follows: "they favored Athens not from any regard for Athenian interests but from selfish motives in order that they might use Athenian support in the contest with the pro-Spartan party at Thebes." In 424 B.C. when the Athenians invaded Boeotia they were aided by local factions which chafed under the harsh

¹ *Hellen. Oxyrhyn.* XII, 2.

² A writer with the aristocratic sympathies that P betrays could not use these words in reference to democratic politicians.

³ *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀντὶ θέρει Θηβαῖοι Θεσπιῶν τεύχος περιέλλον ἐπικαλέσαντες ἀττικισμόν.*—Thucyd. iv. 133. This occurred in 423 B.C.

domination of Thebes.¹ The active participation of large numbers of Boeotians in Theban faction struggles is easily understood if one of the parties was the champion of states' rights.

One cannot but think that had Freeman been familiar with the details now available he would have modified his opinion that "the Boeotian league was undoubtedly a very ill-arranged political contrivance." The fact that Thebes used it as a stalking horse to win the hegemony does not detract from its excellence as a political contrivance.

Boeotian stupidity is proverbial. In both ancient and modern literature it is a commonplace. "The proverb *Βουωρία ἔς* was ancient in Pindar's time, and it is likely to be known, in its original Greek form, for centuries to come."² But we shall now have to admit that the people who were the political schoolmasters of the Athenians and who anticipated substantially the whole modern system of government—a representative parliament, an elective executive, and a supreme court—were neither stupid nor slow witted.

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¹Lysander, in 395 B.C., induced Orchomenus to revolt from the Thebans ('Ορχομενίου ἀπέστρεψε Θεβαίων. Xen. *Hellen.* iii, 5, 6) and tried to induce Haliartus to do the same and gain its independence (αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι: *ibid.* iii, 5, 18).

²Roberts *The Ancient Boeotians: Their Character and Culture and Their Reputation*.

THE TEXT OF THE *CULEX*

By J. S. PHILLIMORE

The controversy commenced by Skutsch in his *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* does not flag: not a few of the greatest living German scholars have made contributions to it, which, whatever eventual verdict shall decide the question of authorship, have at least done much for the elucidation of a very interesting body of poetry. This paper is not directly concerned with the main question, but I must in a few sentences summarily premise one or two points to define its relations to the main question.

1. I have no doubt that Virgil wrote the *Culex*. Against the arguments briefly outlined by Skutsch in an appendix to *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* and most conveniently and completely displayed by Vollmer in his pamphlet *Die kleineren Gedichte Vergils* (München, 1907), there is not and there never has been any serious objection except the plea that the *Culex* is unworthy of Virgil. That Virgil could not and did not write any juvenilia unworthy of the author of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* seemed good logic to the philosophy of the last century. But nowadays such an assertion as this (which may be read in Teuffel-Schwabe Engl. tr. § 230.2), "nothing is left us but to assume that Lucan, Martial and Statius were mistaken in identifying the extant *Culex* with the one written by Virgil," only survives as a curious monument of the fatuity of idealist criticism.

But though Virgil's authorship is not disproved by the apparent unworthiness of the poem, the case for the defense may be strengthened if by amending systematically within the rules of common critical probability, the text can be brought nearer to the measure of technical accomplishment which we expect of Virgil even in youth. Many people will probably confess that at a first reading and for many readings after, the *Culex* appeared to be a jungle of solecisms and inconsequences; absurdly constructed and often uncouth in meter. Yet there were glimmerings of beauty in it sufficient to move

Spenser to do it into English. And I am convinced that the pallor and flatness, the strange futility as of a bungling artist who cannot get a thing said although he keep talking round it—all this means not that the *Culex* is a bad picture, but that the picture is sorely in need of cleaning.

2. I premise then that the *Culex* is a gravely, exceptionally corrupt text. Though the Bembinus is a MS of the ninth century, this early date is no guarantee for the textual integrity of any work unprotected by either of the two great preservatives—ecclesiastical interest (e.g. the Bible and the Fathers), and the usage of the schools during the period of the fifth to the ninth centuries (e.g. *Aeneid* or Terence). To prove the point that we have to do with a deeply corrupted tradition, it is enough to instance almost at random: e.g. 330 BP gives *iam oicon as*; S pamoicon *es*; the correct *iam Ciconas* is only in V and Cors.

In 332. V and Vossianus alone preserve any traces of the true reading *Zanclaea*; Bembinus and the rest give *metuenda*.

In 324 for

Hectoreo victor lustravit corpore Troiam

all our MSS give

Hectora lustravit victor de corpore Troiam

which shows not honest corruption but bad patching, and so on: instances are innumerable.

In a good text such as Virgil or Terence it is folly to multiply conjectures; in a moderately good text such as Propertius, the *onus probandi* is strong on each conjecture; but in a text as bad as I believe the *Culex* to be, and starting from the axiom that Virgil is the author, I venture to think we may a priori plausibly redress the poem to conform metrically and in style of language to a period between the Lucretian-Catulline and the matured Virgilian. That is to say, such broken-backed verses as:

perfidiam lamentandi mala: perfide multis

and

iret inevectus caelum super: omne propinquo

and

mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illi

stand self-condemned, inviting emendation. No further preliminary apology is needed for submitting in the briefest possible form a long

series of suggestions. If in even one or two of them I can convince the reader that emendation gives Latinity and coherence to what was solecistic nonsense, he will, I hope, admit the probability that the *Culex* only needs more emendation to be restored to coherence and Latinity throughout.

1-41: The structure of this exordium suggests that to vss. 11-23

Latonaë magnique Iovis decus, aurea proles

containing the double invocation of Apollo and Pales, there were afterward added vss. 1-10 and 24-41, to serve some occasional purpose of the author's. I suppose he had been praised to Octavian as a poet and was pressed to produce something which he might offer to the *venerandus sanctus puer*:¹ he had the *Culex* in his desk and furnished it with a suitable new headpiece. The style smacks of the rhetorical school: e.g. the conclusion

Sed nos ad coepta feramur 41

is not unlike Auctor *ad Herennium* (Lib. iii. praef.):

nunc tu fac attentum te praebeas: nos proficisci ad instituta pergemus

3-6: These lines are an old crux. Leo quotes from Manil. ii. 522 a valuable illustration of *consonet ordo*. The following passage from Macrobi. *Sat.* v. xiv. 11 is worth quoting too:

item divinus ille vates res vel paulo vel multum ante transactas, opportune ad narrationis suae seriem revocat, ut et historicum stilum vitet, non per ordinem digerendo quae gesta sunt, nec tamen praetertorum nobis notitiam subtrahat.

The *Culex* is mock-heroic; the "detailing of the argument" (*ordo notitiae*) is to "harmonize" with the manner of history, "burlesque-wise" (*per ludum*). And now follows a corrupt bit: The mock-solemn

quisquis erit culpae iocos Musamque (*read lusumque*) paratus,
pondere vel culicis levior famaue feretur;

makes one expect an equally mock-solemn "warning off" of unworthy hearers, the *profani*:

ducumque voces (Med.)	}	licet invidus adsit.
ductum voces (V)		
ducum voces (codd. ceteri)		

¹ Leo cites examples to support *sanctus*. *Venerandus* is applied to Alexander the Great by Q. Curt. iii. vi. 16.

I suggest that on the analogy of

Caesar
dum canitur, quaeso, Juppiter ipse vaces
Prop. iv. vi. 14.

and (perhaps)

mendax fama, vaces (Housman) *ibid.* iv. ii. 19
(vaces DV nocēs N voces FL)

we should here read:

notitiae. Doctrina, vaces licet: invidus absit.
A truce to serious Art, and Avaunt Envy!

For the use of *licet* in polite invitation cf. Prop. i. viii. 29; ii. xxii. 23.
This would make Baehrens' conjecture in vs. 9

docta graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur

more pointed. The detestable rhythm of the line as it stands might
be corrected

docta: dabunt *secura* suos mihi tempora fructus.

This at least falls pat enough with the eventual facts of Virgil's life.
Vss. 20-22

et tu Sancta Pales ad quam ventura recurrit
agrestum bona *secura* sit cura tenentis
fetura sit cura tenentes
sors cura *secura* tenensque
sors *secura*que cura tenentem

Such, with minor variations of detail which may be studied in the
apparatus of Professor Ellis or of Ribbeck, are the data for this
problem. Read:

et tu Sancta Pales, ad quam *tutela* recurrit
agrestum, *bona sis*: tecum sit cura tenentis
aerios nemorum cultus silvasque virentes.

Tutela is, I think, an old conjecture, though I cannot find an author
for it. *Bona sis* will recall to any reader *sis bonus o! felixque tuis*.
For *tecum tenentis* I adduce Prop. ii. xxx. 25:

libeat tibi, Cynthia, *mecum*
rorida muscosis antra *tenere* iugis.
quod si forte tibi *fuert* fatorum cura meorum
A.L. epigr. 965.

Virgil invites Pales to be kind (*sit cura*) to one who shares her haunts. The next line confirms it:

te cultrice vagus silvas feror inter et antra.

24-41. vs. 24:

et tu cui meritis oritur fiducia cartis	BV
	chartis I
	castis Cant.
	canis G

Read *tantis*. *Chartae* have nothing to do with the case; it is great deserts which raise a high confidence in Octavius.

Vss. 35, 36:

mollia sed tenui pede currere carmina versu
versum

Most editors have adopted Heinsius' *decurrere*, but even his great authority does not reconcile me to the probability of an original *decurrere* being altered into *pede currere* by dittography. Look at the next verse:

viribus apta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudet
gaudent

Of what subject can this most naturally be predicated? Surely of the Muses sporting with Musagetes Apollo. Read:

mollia sed tenui pede currere: carmina *Musae*
viribus apta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudent.

The Muses like playful themes appropriate to their strength, so let slender feet have soft ground, i.e. dainty subjects, to run upon.

Similarly Propertius says:

mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis (iii. iii. 18).

Vss. 37-40:

hoc tibi sancte puer memorabilis et tibi certet
gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aevum
et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes
debita felicitis memoretur vita per annos.

Considering:

non frustra meditantur, habent memorabile quod sit

in Catull. lxii. 13, I am sorry Professor Ellis either altered *memorabilis* et, beyond the almost inevitable change to *memorabile sit*, or did not

conjecture *meditabimur* outright. Accepting Buecheler's *sit tibi certe*, I would read:

hoc tibi, sancte puer, memorabile; sit tibi certe
gloria perpetuum *Culicis* mansura per aevum¹

and in vs. 40:

debita felicis *numeretur* vita per annos.

Vss. 42-57: There is much room for suspicion in many of these verses, but corruption can hardly be doubted in vss. 48, 49:

iam silvis dumisque *vagae* iam vallibus abund
corpora iamque omni celeres e parte *vagantes*

Perhaps

iam silvis dumisque *fuga est*,

though the ablative is rather harsh.

Vs. 50: How can a goat's bite, which poisons and destroys vegetation, be called *tener*? And the recurrence of *morsu* in vs. 54 increases suspicion.

Eclogue vii. 6,

dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos

suggests

tondebant *tenerae* viridantia germina *myrtus*.

Vss. 58-97: Praises of the country life. This passage is confessedly a reminiscence of Lucretius ii. 23-36, and in close relation—parental, say Skutsch and Vollmer; filial, say the opposing school—to *Georg.* ii. 458-74. How close exactly is the correspondence in the detailed articulations of the two passages? The answer to this question is a main factor in the problem of emending the *Culex* text in some of these surely corrupt lines.

The scheme of *Georg.* ii. 458-74 is as follows:

O fortunatos . . . si . . . norint agricolas!
quibus . . . fundit . . . victum . . . tellus
si non . . . domus . . . salutantum vomit undam,
nec . . . inhiant . . . postes . . . inclusasque . . . vestes
nec fucatur lana . . .
nec corrumpitur usus olivi;
at securae quies etc. . . . *at* otia, etc.
non absunt: *illic* saltus ac lustra, et . . . iuventus,
sacra . . . sanctique patres: *per illos*
Iustitia . . . vestigia fecit.

¹ *lucens* recurs in vs. 41 and vs. 74.

The scheme of *Culex* 58-78 is as follows (prescinding from 79-97, the materials of which have been licked down and condensed so that *Cul.* 79-85=*Georg.* 459-60 and *Cul.* 86-97=*Georg.* 467-73):

O bona pastoris siquis
si non fuerint
si nitor non angit picturaeque decus
nec manet nec referunt nec pretio
est
at prosternit corpus
atque illum
illi sunt

That is to say, the two agree in exclamatory invocation: *Cul.* has 2 *si non* + 3 *nec* + *at* + *illum* and *illi*; *Georg.* has 1 *si non* + 3 *nec* + 2 *at* + *illic* and *illos*.

So close a correspondence as this certainly favors an indicative verb in vs. 62:

si non Assyrio { *fuerint* } *bis lauta colore,*
 { *fiunt* }

where Ellis conjectures *fervent*, Schrader *fulgent*.

I suggest that *feriunt* is the right word; as an anagram it accounts for *fuerint*, as expressing an effect produced on the spectator it matches with *animum angit avarum* in vs. 64. Cicero (*Brut.* 67.226) uses *ferire* absolutely, for "to strike" some object readily understood from the context; here it would merely mean the *striking* color of the *διδασκα* "which only an Attalus' purse can command."

But is it not really a yet closer correspondence than appears in our texts?

O fortunatos agricolas
O bona pastoris (the noun is missing).

Where is it to be sought? Rhythm, the clue of the Georgic parallel, and the presence of a weak and obscure point in the phrase as it stands—all these indications point to

omnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis

omnia=*oīa* readily allows the restoration of what the sense also claims: *otia*.

O bona pastoris otia.

Next to compare the reserves which qualify the respective ejaculations:

sua si bona norint

says the *Georgic*; and the *Culex* (58-59)

O bona pastoris (si quis non pauperis usum
mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis)
otia

Several things excite suspicion here: (1) for *siquis non fastidiat* we require *siquis non fastidit*; (2) the vicious rhythm of *et probet*; (3) the vagueness of *mente prius docta* "a previously learned mind"; (4) the inelegance of *pauperis* standing as noun so near to *pastoris*; (5) the clumsy pair of verbs *fastidiat et probet*; (6) the pointlessness of *illis*.

Five of these objections are removed by reading

si quoi non pauperis usus
fastidia praebet ovilis.

A remedy for *mente prius docta* is not so simple; but supposing *menteprius* to be an anagram for *temperius*, the small consequential change of *docta* into *docto* gives us a plausible Latin phrase to express "precociously learned," the contrary of *ὀψιμαθής*, as it were a *πρωιμαθής*.

O the jolly idleness of a shepherd—unless precocious learning puts a man out of conceit with the business of the humble sheepfold:

O bona pastoris (si quoi non pauperis usus
temperius docto fastidia praebet ovilis)

Vs. 60:

otia, luxuriae spretis incognita curis
quae lacerant avidas inimico pectore mentes!

mentes in vs. 61 now becomes unexceptionable, whether Leo's defense of *inimico pectore* be judged adequate, or Ellis' beautiful conjecture *nimia cuppedine* be preferred.

Vs. 95: I fear the pretty word *tempe* is only a mistake for *semper*, like the *sempe* cited by Ribbeck in vs. 265. If so, the puzzling *fontis* represents a proper name of some nymph. It might be, e.g.,

. . . . o gratissima semper
Lotis Hamadryadum.

semper gratissima is a Propertian endearment (i. ii. 31).

Vs. 107:

iam medias operum partis evectus erat sol
cum densas pastor pecudes cogebat in umbras
ut procul aspexit luco residere virenti,
Delia diva, tuo, quo quondam, etc.

Satis turbata haec says Sillig. Professor Ellis holds that the protasis which opens at vs. 109 only finds an apodosis at vs. 158. A long sentence! At vs. 109 perhaps:

haut procul a speculis, luco residere verentes

The flock are shy of entering the divinity-haunted grove; so for their siesta the shepherd drives them only a little way down from the hilltop where they have been feeding. They rest and sleep among the thickets of the open hillside (*dumis* of vs. 155); he enters the mystical *lucus*.

Vss. 114-20:

et Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae
 naiadum coetu tantum non { horridus } Hebrum
 { horpheus }
 restantem tenuit ripis silvasque canendo,
 quantum te pernigre morantem diva chorea

Emendators of these lines have taken a false direction, I think, by not recognizing that Virgil throughout the *Culex* declines *Orpheus* as a Greek noun: gen. *Orpheos*, vs. 269; dat.—as I hope to show—*Orpei*, vs. 279; voc. *Orpheu*, vs. 292. The slightest of changes will restore sense to these lines:

Naiadum coetu *laetum* non Orpheos Hebrum
ars *tantum* tenuit ripis silvasque canendo
quantum te, etc.

Not Orpheus' cunning so captivated Hebrus who rejoices in his company of Naiads, as these captivate Diana.

Vss. 131-33:

posterior cui Demophoon aeterna reliquit
 perfidiam lamentandi mala { perfida }
 { perfidia } multis
 perfide Demophoon et nunc desende puellis.

Read:

posterior cui Demophoon aeterna reliquit
perfidia *lamenta* "Audi, male perfide! multis
"perfide Demophoon, et nunc deflende puellis!"

Audi etc. are the words of the lament. Some allusion escapes us in this verse. One of the contemporary poets used Demophoon as his nickname; Propertius addressed ii. xxii to him; and this line of the *Culex* is surely echoed in Prop. iv. vii. 13:

perfide, nec cuiquam melior sperande puellae.

For vs. 119 Nodell's suggestion *pernox* deserves to be recalled, though *pernocte* would be better.

Vs. 140:

ilicis et nigrae species et laeta cupressus

et fleta Ellis; *nec laeta* vulg.; *lethaea* Gifanius.

Perhaps *acuta*; cf. Ov. *Met.* iii. 155.

Vallis erat piceis et *acuta* densa cupressu.

Vss. 154, 155:

at circa fessae passim cubuere capellae
 excelsisque { super { dumis quos leniter adflans
 excelsisque { supra {
 aura susurrantis poscit confundere venti.

The goats are lulled by the whispering wind in the bushes. Read:

excessitque sopor dumis, etc.
 Slumber issued from the bushes.

Vss. 157-201: The Serpent's attack.

Vs. 168:

tollebant aerae venientis ad omnia visus.

If so desperate a place may excuse a bold conjecture I would suggest:

torrebant furiale minantis adonia visus

"his glances of frantic menace scorched the (herb) *adonium*," southernwood, or whatever is the modern name of it.

Vs. 174:

metabat sese circum loca cum videt fignens
 adversum recubare ducem gregis.

Even Virgil's notorious fondness for the word *ingens* can hardly justify it here. One MS reads *anguis*; Ellis conjectures *hiscens*. The context appears to require a word expressing rage: for instance *amens*, "beside himself." *Amens* looks like an "artlessly violent" conjecture, but there are two other passages in the *Culex* in which I hope to show that where the MSS offers us a word beginning with

ic- or *ig-* we must read a word beginning with *a-*. From these I infer that at some period our MS tradition went through a stage of some pre-Caroline script in which *a-* was so written as to be readily mistaken for *ic-* or *ig-*. See notes on vss. 302 and 326.

Vss. 176, 177: probably *intendere* and *infringere* are historic infinitives.

Vss. 182-86:

cui cuncta paranti
parvulus hunc prior umoris conterret alumnus
et mortem vitare monet per acumina. namque
qua diducta genas pandebant lumina gemmis
gemmas
hac senioris erat mature pupula telo
icta levi, cum prosiluit, etc.

Read

cui cuncta parantur

cf. *Aen.* ii. 132:

mihi sacra parari.

The miserable rhythm of *namque* in the 6th foot and the clumsiness of phrase in vs. 185 are alike mended by reading:

nam qua
diductu geminas pandebant lumina gemmas,
hac senioris erat, etc.

Just at the point where, parting, the eyes exposed the eyeballs, i.e. just at the corner of the eyelid.

Vss. 193-95:

qui casus sociarit opem numenne deorum
prodere sit dubium, valuit sed vincere †tales
horrida squamosi volventia terga draconis.

tales perhaps represents *talea*, a rod or stick. The unfamiliar word as well as the synzesis (though not un-Virgilian) would facilitate the corruption:

valuit sed vincere talea
horrida ramosa squalentis terga draconis

but the last line is frankly guesswork.

Vss. 198-201:

et quod erat tardus somni languore remoto
nescius aspiciens timor occaecaverat artus
hoc minus { implevit } dira formidine mentem.
 { implicuit }
quem postquam vidit caesum languescere sedit.

This passage is so bad that editors have stuck at nothing, even transposition, to mend it. I take it that Virgil means to say that the snake fascinated and benumbed the sleeping man by its eye: *timor* may then be abstract for concrete, "the frightful creature"; if *nescius* is genuine, it must bear a passive sense of "unknown." For a tentative reconstruction:

et, quo tardus erat, somni languore remoto
(nescius aspiciens timor occaecaverat artus)
cominus implevit dira formidine mentem:
quam, postquam vidit caesum languescere, sedat.

When he got rid of his lethargy (for, unknown to him, the frightful creature had benumbed him by its glance) he now at close quarters glutted his mind with fear; but he allayed his fear as soon as he saw the snake relax under his blows.

Or *cominus* may = *statim*, a Cisalpinism acc. to Servius on *Georg.* i. 104.

Vss. 202-383: The Vision of the Gnat and his Complaint.

Vs. 208: *illo* for *illi* is surely demanded by the vagueness of *eventu*. The Gnat is "dismal after *that* consummation," i.e. of his death.

Vs. 223: Commentators have failed to note the Terentian origin of this phrase

nos nostro officio non digressos esse.
—*Phorm.* 722.

Vss. 227, 228:

instantia vidi
alterius sine respectu mea fata relinquens.

A mere change of punctuation in this sentence will help to relieve the *Culex* of one principal objection which has been brought against it as a poem: that the Gnat never says in all its 180 lines of complaint the one thing which we expect of it, viz., that it *wants burial*. Read here:

instantia vidi
alterius: sine respectu mea fata relinques?

There is a zeugma in the word *fata*. It has the two senses which are exemplified in

aucturis tot *mea fata* meis = me mortuam.
—*Prop.* iv. xi. 70;

or

an poteris siccis *mea fata* reponere ocellis?
Ibid. i. xvii. 11;

or

quodsi forte tibi fuerit *fatorum cura meorum*,
 ne grave sit tumulum visere saepe meum
 —*Anth. Lat.* (Riese) 965,

on the one side; and on the other, in

instantibus eripe fatis
 —*Aen.* x. 624.

"Will you leave my dead remains unregarded?" says the Gnat, "after my self-sacrifice to save another's life from imminent danger." One hardly dares credit *instantia* as a substantive to so early an author, but the very zeugma here seems to lead toward such a use.

Vss. 229-31: Perhaps read:

fit poena merenti:
 poena sit exitium, modo (sit dignata voluntas)
 exsistat par officium.

in vs. 242 for

gutturis arenti revolutus in omnia sensu

(which presumably is meant to describe Tantalus writhing). Read:

gutturis arenti prolutus inania sensu
 vainly soused while the feeling of his throat still is parching.

Vss. 243-47: A Propertian parallel will restore to vs. 245 an idiom which is not very deeply overlaid with corruption as it is; and the cure of vs. 245 leads to the cure of the whole passage.

Propertius in iv. vii. 95 (a poem which by its subject approaches to the "Nekyia" of the *Culex*, and from which I have already cited one notable echo of a *Culex* line) has

haec postquam querula mecum sub lite peregat.

The italicized words mean "in a tone of plaintive remonstrance."

In our passage the Cors. MS actually keeps *sub lite*, and the others plainly show it under *siblite*. The lines should run:

quid saxum procul adverso qui monte revolvit,
 contempsisse dolor quem numina vincit acerba
 otia quaerentem frustra *sub lite*? Quid illae
 rite quibus taedas accendi tristis Erinys
 sicut Hymen praefata, dedit conubia mortis?

Sisyphus "vainly seeks repose with bitter tones of remonstrance, and his pain proves (*vincit*) that he has been guilty of *ὑβρις* against Gods."

quid illae (the scribe did not mind his p's and q's) by a slight change avoids the grotesque imperative *ite*. The change *accendi* for *accendit* is due to Professor Ellis.

Vs. 260: For

Elysiam tranandus agor delatus ad undam,

which Leo is not ashamed to defend, perhaps

tranandas agor, Elysium delatus, ad undas.

Vss. 264-66:

	Alcestis ab omni	
	inviolata vacat cura quod saeva mariti	
in Chalcodoniis	{ adameticura	} morata est.
	{ admaeticura	
	{ admetica	

The addition of *Admeti* to *mariti*, compared with the exquisiteness of *in Chalcodoniis*, looks like too cheap workmanship to be other than a gloss, if it be not a misreading of

fatâ immatura morata est.

Vss. 265-67: This much is plain: the sentence in these lines should close with

nec perculit illam
turba ferox nimium telis confixa procorum.

S alone omits the vicious *et* after *manet*; a mere stopgap to make meter of a sort, after *perculit* had passed into *procul*. It is a curious accident that the *illam* should have survived to give the clue for a restoration. It seems hardly possible to avoid supposing a lacuna between 266 and 267.

Vs. 268: Though fragm. Stabulense, a MS to whose merits hardly enough credit has been given,¹ reads *tantum*, surely

quo, misera Eurydice, tanto maerore recesti?

is better:

What great mourning is this, Eurydice?

Vs. 275:

nec facilis t̄ditis̄ sine iudice sedes

¹ Cf. its readings in vss. 270, 274, 288, 296, 301, 304, 312, 315, 319.

read

nec facilis aditu, sine iudice, sedes

Vss. 278-79:

*iam rapidi steterant amnes et turba ferarum
blanda voce sequax regionem insiderat Orphei.*

Orphei is dative (see note on v. 116). *regionem insiderat* is nonsense: Orpheus had no region for the beasts to settle in; and if he had, their settling in his region was no proof of his power. Read

*nec turba ferarum
blanda voce sequax regnum in se inviderat Orphei
had not grudged him dominion over them.*

Vss. 286-88:

Eurydicenque ultro ducendam reddere non fas

non erat invitam $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dire} \\ \text{diu} \\ \text{divae} \end{array} \right\}$ *exorabile mortis.*

Almost the only service that Baehrens performed for the text of the *Culex* by conjecture was to extract *ius* out of the *diu* of S. But he did not complete the emendation. This passage is one of those which Skutsch minutely discusses; he shows that *magis*, so far from being inept, is particularly pointed. For the argument runs thus: Orpheus' power had carried all before it, even Persephone, *even Death, willy nilly* consented; Eurydice on her part knew better than to run any risks, but it was Orpheus, Orpheus himself who *rather than any of them* deserved to be called *crudelis, crudelis*. That is

*haec eadem potuit Ditis te vincere coniunx;
Eurydicenque ultro ducendam reddere non fas,
non vetat invitae ius exorabile mortis.*

Vss. 294-95: I suggest

graviter (si Tartara nossent)
peccatum meminisse grave est.

It is grievous to remember what was (had but Tartara understood it) a grievous fault.

Vss. 301-3: These lines, as the editors print them, make nonsense.

1) *Assidet referens ignis* is absurd.

2) *Socialae gloria sortis* does not indicate the two men with whom the passage deals, the Aeacids, Achilles and Ajax.

Let me next observe that we have in all this digression an ἀπιστία of Ajax, with only so much mention of Achilles as is barely necessary; and finally, that we have in these next eighty lines the densest growth of corruption in the whole *Culex*.

assidet {	hac {	iuvenis {	sociat de {	}	gloria {	}	fortis.
	hoc {		sociate {		}	doria {	
			sociat quem {				

S alone keeps *doria*.

Now if you take the letters aciuüeis, by adding three vertical strokes above the line at the points I have indicated by dots, you get *achilleis*—a first ray of meaning. Next suppose *sortis* to represent a noun agreeing with *achilleis*—a presumption justified by the ordinary structure of a hexameter:

. . . . Achilleis sociat doria sertis,

and the line completes itself

Cassida Achilleis sociat se doria sertis altera.

A second helmet, a Dorian helmet, shares in Achilles' garlands (of victory).

Compare

ille secundus apex bellorum et proxima cassis.—Stat. *Silv.* v. ii. 47.

And now for the unmeaning *referens*—Ajax does not *carry back* the fires or anything else—let us take a cue from the mistake of the MSS in Manilius ii. 863 and try

inexcessumque furens a navibus ignis
Argolicis Phrygios torva feritate

What is the verb? And what is the subject of that verb? The MSS reading *repulsos* (or *refulsos*) favors the notion that we ought to replace a second person singular, *repulsas*. If so, there is yet a vocative wanting. One word in the sentence so far reconstructed remains otiose: *ignis*. Ajax savagely repels the Phrygians, not necessarily their fires rather than themselves. Now if the reader will recall what I premised in speaking of vs. 174, and in there advocating *amens* for what the MSS give as *ingens*; and further compare vs. 326 where the MSS reading in the last foot is *icta*, he will see that the one word required to make sense in vs. 302 and in vs. 326 is *Aias* or *Aiax*. (Perhaps the Greek form of the name is likelier.)

At first blush it is an "artless violence" to read *Aias* for *īgis* and *Aias* for *icta*; but, if comparing vs. 174, *āens* for *īgens*, in all three instances a postulated confusion of *a*-¹ with *ic*- or *ig*- restores a significant and necessary word to the sentence, I submit that there is some cumulative probability in restoring these lines as follows:

cassida Achilleis sociat se Doria sertis
altera; in excessumque furens a navibus, Aias,
Argolicis Phrygios torva feritate repulsas.
O quis non referat talis divortia belli,
quae Troiae videre viri videreque Grai
Teucra cum magno manaret sanguine tellus,
et Simois Xanthique liquor, Sigeaque *per te* (*praeter* codd.)
litora, cum, *Troes*, saevi *vos* Hectoris ira
truderet in classis, etc., etc.

(*ducis* vulg.; *duos* codd., exc. V, Cors.)

Vs. 314

classibus ambustis flamma †lacrimante† daretur.

Editors have conjectured *flagrante*, *superante*, *crepitante*, *lacerante*, etc. Paleographically easier and better in sense would be *bacchante*.

Vss. 322-26:

hoc erat Aeacides vultu letatus honores

Of these words, *hoc erat . . . honores* bear a look of ultimate integrity while they argue corruption on the surface. *Hoc erat* cries out for a relative clause to complete the idiom. Read

hoc erat, Aeacides, *quo* tu laetatus *ovares*

Here was something for you Aeacid (Ajax) to exult over; and the other Aeacid exults because, etc.

Vss. 325-26:

rursus acerba fremunt, Paris hunc quod letat et huius
arma dolis Ithaci virtus quod concidit ieta.

fremunt demands a subject, which is but thinly concealed in *et huius*, namely *Achivi*.

¹The confusion may readily happen in the English or Irish roundhand of the seventh to the eighth centuries, where *a* is written *cc*. I may remark, by the way, that a similar confusion helps to account for the error in Statius *Silv.* v. iv. 14.

at nunc heusalliquis longa sub nocte puellae
brachia nexa tenens. . . .

Read *nescioquis*. It was the corruption of *ci* into *a* which gave rise to *aliquis*. *heus* is of course absurd; *heu signis* does not account for the MS reading; and *heu si aliquis* gives an impossible elision of the monosyllable.

For *icta* in the next line I have already suggested that *Aias* is to be substituted. The couplet regains point and relevancy if we read

rursus acerba fremunt, Paris hunc quod letat, *Achivi*;
arma *dolens*, ira victus quod concidit *Aias*

Possibly *Ithaci* might stand.

Vs. 330: the missing word may be *monstrum*
atrox Laestrygona monstrum

and perhaps it was *mostrū* which helped to foist the ludicrous *Molos-sis* (*molosis* codd.) into the next verse, where *marinis* alone seems applicable.

Vss. 337-38:

reddidit heu Graius poenas tibi, Troia, ruenti,
Hellespontiacis tibi reddidit obrutus undis

is perhaps the secret of the disconcerting

obiturus reddidit

in which the first part seems to make plain nonsense.

Vss. 340-41:

neque propriae fortunae munere dives
iret { inevectus } caelum super omne propinquo
tendit { in evectus }
frangitur invidiae telo decus.

To break the sentence with a fullstop at *super* gives a harsh and improbable construction; and the analogy of vss. 209 and 229 *illo ab eventu* and *parilis ad eventus* favors a reading *in eventus* with a contemporary *propinquos*. Perhaps

ne quis *ceu* (or *uti*) propriae fortunae munere dives
<sp>iret in eventus caelum super omne propinquos,
frangitur invidiae telo decus.

Lest any man rich in the favor of fortune, as though fortune were his own to count upon, go to meet future chances in heaven-outsoaring pride, glory is shattered by the weapon of (divine) envy.

Vs. 348:

undique mutatur caeli nitor, omnia ventis
omnia turbinibus sunt anxia.

Surely corrupt. Suppose the author wrote

undique mutatis *caligant aequora* ventis,
omnia turbinibus obnoxia.

Tibullus has

insanis cautes obnoxia ventis (ii. iv. 10).

For the lengthening of *-us* cf. *opūs* 395, *genūs* 400.

Vs. 357:

omnis in aequoreo fluctuat naufragia fluctu
omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu (V. Voss.)
omnis in aequoreo . . . fluit atia naufrage luctu (Cors.)
fluctuat omnis in aequoreo naufragia luctu (ceteri codd.)

fluctu appears to be sound in the sixth foot; if so, *fluere*, *fluitare*, *fluctuare* would appear to be ineligible for the middle of the line. *luctari* (cf. *Aen.* v. 220; *Catalepton* xiii. 26; *Senec. ad Marc.* x. 6) fits the case:

omnis in aequoreo *luctatur* naufraga fluctu.

Vs. 363:

Curtius et medius quem quondam sedibus urbis
perhaps

Curtius et quem diis quondam . . . entibus urbis

supplying some participle, e.g. *poscentibus*.

Vs. 368: If Horatius Coeles be the hero to whom this line alludes one may read

fluminibus devota dedit qui corpora flavis.

Vss. 369-71:

iure igitur talis sedes pietatis honores
istarum piadasque duces quorum devota triumphis
moenia { rapidis } Libycae Carthaginis horrent.
 { romanis }

There is strong presumption of a lacuna between 369 and 370. Surely the first five letters of 370, as it stands in most MSS, signify that the lost line ended with *instar*. In vs. 371 I see no reason to suspect *romanis*; the necessary change is more easily made in vs. 370.

iure igitur talis sedes pietatis honores

. . . . *instar*,

Scipiadasque duces *duo quos* devota triumphis
moenia Romanis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.

Cf. *Lucr.* iii. 1034.

scipiadas, belli fulmen, *Carthaginis horror*.

Vss. 379-80:

	hoc	{	immemor audis	
	haec			
et tamen utuadis	{	dimitte somnia	{	ventis
erramus utuada		dimittere somnia		

It had occurred to me that the words *fata minuta* lay concealed in the débris with which vs. 380 begins; but the presence of *somnia*, which I believe to be a genuine word, forbids the introduction of another noun into the phrase.

Perhaps the Gnat warns the Shepherd that this dream is a true and creditable dream, ὅραρ οὐκ ὄναρ (as indeed appears presently, for the Shepherd loses no time, once risen, in fulfilling its wishes), in fact a *morning* dream, *matutina somnia*. I take it that by the loss of the initial, *matutina* went into *atutina* and this again into a *tri tua* or a *tri utua*. Accepting *matutina* we have three possibilities

haec immemor audes
matutina vagis dimittere somnia ventis?

or

haec immemor audes
matutina videns dimittere somnia ventis?

or

haec immemor audis?
matutina cave dimittere somnia ventis.

Vss. 376-79:

ergo quam causam mortis iam discere vite
verberibus saevae cogunt ab indice Poenae
cum mihi tu sis causa mali nec conscius adsis
sed tolerabilius cures.

(cures Ellis; curis codd.).

Read

ergo quam causam mortis iam discere *ni te*
verberibus saevae *coguntur* ab indice Poenae,
cum mihi tu sis causa mali? etc.

The *index* from whom the cruel Poenae are bound to learn the true cause of his death is the Gnat himself:

What cause can I tell them but *you*, the shepherd, since you are the cause of my woe, and you do not assist me?

i.e. he will reluctantly bring vengeance on the shepherd. *consciis adesse* is a Propertian phrase (I. x. 12).

Vs. 338: *sibi tribuere* is found in Ov. *Met.* vi. 89.

nomina summorum sibi qui tribuere deorum

The meaning is "with as much energy as his aged powers could claim." Propertius varies it:

quaecumque aderant in corpore vires (iii. xv. 23).

Vs. 391: *capit* for *incipit* seems unexampled. A slight change gives us

non formare locum carptim piget.

Or possibly *latenti* . . . *capiti piget.*

"The undiscoverable person" of the dead Gnat.

(a good example of *locus* = a tomb in *Anth. Lat.* (Riese) 1067: *immatura meo perlege fata loco*).

Vs. 392: "To serve the purpose of an iron (blade or tool) he had recourse to" what? *Capulum* say the MSS. Surely the *baculum* which the shepherd had leaned on

innixus baculo (vs. 98).

For the phrase cf.

*impositum est non comparentis in usum
partis ebur* (Ov. *Met.* vi. 410).

Vs. 393:

*gramineam viridi <ut> foderet de caespite terram.
iam memor inceptum peragens sibi cura laborem
congestum cumulavit opus.*

Festus says ACERRA: ara quae ante mortuum poni solebat. *Memor cura* is suspicious in view of *curae memor* in 398. One might read

*gramineam viridi ut foderet de caespite acerram.
iam memor inceptum peragens Libitina laborem, etc.*

Vs. 400:

et violae omne genus.

Violare genus saves the rude elision.

Vs. 408:

non illinc Narcissus abest.

After *hic* five times repeated in the catalogue of flowers, *illinc* cries out to be emended to

non ille hinc Narcissus abest cui, etc.

I do not like to conclude without expressing my debt of gratitude to Professor Ellis for his edition, which while it brilliantly solves some problems in the *Culex* offers a most convenient survey of the conditions for attacking others. And I have to thank Mr. H. W. Garrod of Merton College, Oxford, for kindly reading a proof and suggesting some improvements and additional evidences.

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EROTIC TEACHING IN ROMAN ELEGY AND THE GREEK SOURCES. PART I

BY ARTHUR LESLIE WHEELER

The erotic teaching which pervades much of the work of Tibullus and Propertius and culminates in the *Ars amatoria* of Ovid is one of the most striking and characteristic features of Roman elegy. All three elegists assume the rôle of erotic expert and all three give utterance to numerous erotic precepts. Erotic teaching is, therefore, of importance to all who would understand the nature of Roman elegy. But it possesses another interest. It is part of that subjective-erotic note which is recognized as the great and distinguishing characteristic of the genre, and the study of its sources should throw light upon the origin of the subjective-erotic type of elegy.

Was subjective-erotic elegy, the first extant examples of which appear among the Romans, developed by the Alexandrian elegists? This is the most important of all the questions which concern the relation of the Roman elegists to their Greek sources. The solution, which can be only approximate because of the almost complete loss of Alexandrian elegy, depends broadly upon the interpretation of two groups of facts. The first and more obvious of these consists of the references to Greek literature—especially to Callimachus and Philetas—in Roman elegy and the meager *testimonia* of Diomedes, etc; the second comprises the numerous passages in various genres of Greek literature which parallel, often very closely, the characters, motives, and situations common in Roman elegy. The evidence derived from the first group has hitherto proved utterly inadequate to solve the problem. The statements of Propertius, Ovid (Tibullus never alludes to his sources), and Diomedes are so vaguely general and susceptible of so many interpretations that they have been made to prove both sides of the question.¹ The general acknowledgment

¹ Cf. e.g. F. Jacoby *Rh.M.* LX (1905), 38-105, the best argument that there was no subjective-erotic elegy at Alexandria, and Th. Gollnisch, *Quaestiones elegiacae*, Vratislaviae, 1905, the most careful champion of the opposite view. The conclusions of Jacoby, whose article is excellent and very thorough, are accepted by E. Norden in his recent sketch of Roman literature, *Einleit. in die Altertumswiss.* (Leipzig, 1910) I, 506, 567.

of Propertius, for example, that his chief models were Callimachus and Philetas—that he was the “Roman Callimachus” (iv. 1, 64)—proves neither that he adapted every characteristic feature of their elegies nor that they had all the essential features of Propertian elegy. In short, these statements of the Romans can be made to fit either view, and no conclusions should be based upon them until a thorough study, or rather a series of studies, has been devoted to the second group of facts—the parallel passages. In these and in the solution of the questions connected with them, lies our hope of solving the main problem.

The Greek parallels, which have been enormously multiplied by the work of the last fifteen years, have so widely extended our knowledge of the pervasiveness of the Greek influence that even Tibullus, who used to be thought so “Roman,” is now known to be not less under its spell than Propertius and Ovid. These parallels, appearing at widely different periods and in many different genres, have made it necessary to engage in a source-study in Greek literature before we can point with any degree of certainty to the immediate source of any detail of Roman elegy. If in a given case the fact of influence has been demonstrated and the earliest, i.e., the ultimate, Greek source has been pointed out, the most difficult question still remains: By what channel did the Greek influence reach Roman elegy? The favorite method of dealing with this question seems to me so one-sided that I wish to make some criticisms, to emphasize some factors in the problem which have been distorted or overlooked, and to illustrate my point of view by a study of the erotodidactic element.

A brief outline of the current method of investigation in this field must precede any criticisms that I have to offer. This outline naturally begins with Friedrich Leo's very interesting treatment of comedy and elegy (*Plaut. Forsch.* [1895] 126–41), for that treatment has been at once the stimulus and the guide of almost all the later work on the sources of elegy. In addition, it intimately concerns the erotodidactic element, which is the main subject of the present paper. If I venture to differ in part with his interpretation of the facts, I do so with diffidence and with the unqualified acknowledgment that to him more than to anybody else is due the great advance which has been made in this field of investigation. With this pref-

ace, I may outline Leo's views as follows: The many agreements between Roman elegy and Roman comedy indicate that Greek new comedy is the ultimate source of the comic motives in Roman elegy, for the Augustan elegists did not read Plautus and Terence. But the Roman elegists did not use the *vêa* directly, as the older scholars (Huschke, etc.) thought; rather the influence came indirectly through the medium of the Alexandrian poets, especially the elegists, whom Propertius and Ovid acknowledge as their models. The Alexandrians had already taken over the motives of comedy, each poet modifying them from personal experience and from life. The same material of comedy appears in Lucian and Alciphron, who used comedy directly, and in Aristaenetus and Philostratus, who did not know comedy directly, but drew on Lucian and Alciphron or on Alexandrian elegy.¹ In single cases the Roman elegists may have been influenced directly by the *vêa*, for they knew the plays, but the indirect relation is the only natural one and is indicated by the diffusion of these motives in Greek and Roman erotic literature and by the close connection between Greek and Roman elegy as shown by the erotic epigram.

Without pausing here to criticize Leo's views in detail, let us see how they have been narrowed into a veritable creed in the work of his followers. Leo did not entirely close the door of direct influence; his followers have closed it tight. They have reduced the matter to an equation: Agreements between Roman elegy and any other literature = Alexandrian elegy as the immediate source. Alexandrian elegy thus becomes the clearing-house for all Greek influence on Roman elegy. I can illustrate this in striking fashion by means of a passage from V. Hoelzer's dissertation (Marpurgi Cattorum, 1899), which has the significant title, *De poesi amatoria a comicis Atticis exculta, ab elegiacis imitatione expressa. Pars prior*. After pointing out the seven passages of Propertius and Ovid in which Menander's work, especially the *Thais*, is mentioned and disallowing direct influence of the *vêa* because Propertius and Ovid acknowledge Callimachus and Philetas as direct models and because Diomedes (i. 484k.) says that Tibullus followed Callimachus and Euphorion, he adds (p. 7),

¹Leo refers to Reich *De Alciphronis Longique aetate*, Königsberg, 1894.

Quibus de causis Tibullum, Propertium, Ovidium neque ex Atticorum neque ex Romanorum comoediis recta via hausisse puto, sed consensio illa mihi ita explicanda videtur, ut ex comoediis Atticis res amatoriae in elegos Alexandrinos . . . et ex iis deinceps in elegos Romanorum fluxerint. Qua in opinione nobis, quod Alexandrinorum carmina iniquitate temporum perierunt, acquiescendum esset, nisi a viris doctis demonstratum esset anthologiae Palatinae poetas plurimos, deinde Nonnum, Musaeum, tum Aristaenetum, Philostratum, denique erotikos, quos dicimus, scriptores saepe Alexandrinorum vestigia pressisse . . . itaque si magnam partem rerum amatoriarum quibus Tibullus, Propertius, Ovidius cum Plauto et Terentio et comicorum Atticorum fragmentis consentiunt, etiam apud imitatores illos Alexandrinorum reperimus, aut certo aut non sine magna veritatis specie affirmare possumus eas ex comoediis Atticis ab elegiacis Alexandrinorum poetis desumptas, tum denique imitatoribus Romanis traditas esse.¹

But there have been indications of a partial reaction against Leo's method in its extreme form. The Breslau dissertation of Th. Gollnisch, *Quaestiones elegiacae* (1905), is the best instance of this. It is true that Gollnisch goes to extremes not only in asserting that subjective-erotic elegy existed at Alexandria, but even in tracing single Roman elegies to single Alexandrian models—an attempt which seems far from successful. On the other hand he seems unquestionably right in his assertion and in much of his proof that the Romans received suggestions directly from epigram, comedy, and mythological elegy as well as from the entirely hypothetical Alexandrian elegy.²

¹The *virī docti* to whom Hoelzer refers are Birt *Elpides* (on *Spes*, Tib. ii. 6, 19 ff.; Ovid *Ex Pont.* i. 6, 27 ff.); Belling *Albius Tibullus* (1897); Maass *Hermes* XVIII, 321 ff. and XXIV, 526 ff.; Mallet *Quaest. Propert.* (1882), p. 2; Dilthey *Cydidippe* (1863); Leo *Pl. F.* 128; Rohde *Griech. Roman* 145 ff. It is aside from my purpose to criticize these "proofs" in detail, especially since none of them concern erotodidaxis, but it may be said that even when there is probability that a given motif comes from Alexandrian elegy, it is unsafe to reason by analogy from this to other motives of a different type. Aristaenetus, for example, probably got his account of Cydidippe (Ep. x) from Alexandrian elegy, and by analogy he is supposed to have got everything else from the same source! As a matter of fact Ep. x, to say nothing of its mythological content, is twice the length of any other letter (except i. 13) and is peculiar in the development of the thought. With equal justice one might assert that Aristaenetus, who at times practically transcribed Lucian, drew all of his material from Lucian—if Lucian were only lost! In the same way Rohde's proof that in the *erotici* many of the commonplaces of erotic narrative—the meeting of the lovers, love at first sight, the effects of passion on body and mind, etc.—were in Alexandrian elegy is conclusive enough (*Gr. Rom.* 154 ff.). But Rohde gives express warning (p. 172) that in passages reflecting real life, not the heroic age, the elegists were not the sources of the *erotici*.

²Cf. also F. Jacoby *Rh. M.* LX (1905), 82, and P. Legrand *Rev. des ét. grecq.* XX (1907), 184.

With regard to comedy, which is of first importance in a study of erotic teaching, he makes direct influence probable by showing that in several cases the Roman elegists who use comic motives agree more closely with comedy itself than with any extant elegiac treatment. Thus Ovid *A. i. 8* (*lenae praecepta*) agrees closely with Plautus *Most. i. 3* (Scapha's precepts to Philematium) and not with Propertius *iv. 5*, which Ovid must also have known.¹ Ovid was reverting to the original source, the *vêa*, although he had predecessors among his Roman contemporaries, and it is probable that Ovid's agreements with Tibullus and Propertius are often due to the common sources of all three elegists rather than to imitation of his two older contemporaries.

The foregoing outline, brief as it is, indicates that it is unsafe to infer from the probable sources of one elegy that the sources of others were the same or even to reason by analogy from one part of the same elegy to another.² If we are certain of anything concerning Alexandrian elegy it is that mythology played a prominent part in the genre, and it is probable that Ovid drew his version of the Cydippe story from that source. But in *Am. i. 7* and *8*, which reflect life, Ovid turned to comedy, the mirror of life. The *ars amatoria* (τέχνη ἐρωτική) which is so prominent in Roman elegy is also a reflection of real life and was not applicable to the heroic age. The τέχνη ἐρωτική was developed in comedy, and comedy is therefore the ultimate source of this element, including erotic teaching, in Roman elegy. This is the general truth, but as has been shown, the channel by which comedy exerted this influence on Roman elegy is by no means determined. Facts we have in abundance; explanations of the facts differ. It is not, therefore, primarily my purpose to add new parallels, although I have been able to do this in some instances, but rather I shall try to follow the didactic thread as it appears in the mass of varying parallels already collected³ and to

¹ Similar results are obtained for Ov. *A. i. 7*; cf. Menander's Περικειρ. and Philostratus *Epp. 16* (26), 61 (64); for Tib. *i. 3*, 83-92, cf. Terence *Haut. 274-95*, 302-7 and Alciphron *ii. 4*; and for Propertius *iii. 6. 1-8*, cf. Terence *Haut. 291 f.*, 302-3, 285-95.

² This is especially dangerous in Tibullus, each of whose elegies is usually compounded of a number of motives.

³ I have already referred to Leo *Plaut. Forsch. 126-41*; Gollnisch *Quaest. elegiacae*; Hoelzer *De poesi amat.*; F. Jacoby *Rh. M. LX* (1905), 38-105; P. Legrand *Rev. d. ét. gr. XX* (1907), 176-231; cf. *ibid. XXI* (1908), 37-79. Add to these Leo *G.G.A. 1898* (I),

bring out new aspects of these parallels. Such a study, enforced by some general considerations, will result, I hope, in a more convincing explanation of the facts.

In order to trace the course of this Greek influence those erotic motives must be studied in which the didactic tone is clear and for which a sufficient number of Greek parallels exist. The study must center in Propertius and Tibullus, and Ovid will be used chiefly by way of supplement and illustration, since it is often possible that he is drawing, not on Greek literature, but on his Roman predecessors. It will be convenient to arrange the material according to the system adopted in my article on "Propertius as Praeceptor Amoris":¹ (1) those passages in which the rôle of erotic expert appears; (2) those which contain erotic precepts in detail. The two groups are often identical, of course, but important results will be obtained by a study of the rôle first. The rôle of erotic expert (*peritus*) appears clearly in Tibullus and Propertius as well as in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*; cf. *Class. Phil.* V, 28-40. In the Greek the following passages are most significant:

Lucian,² *Dialog. meretr.* iii and vii (the old mother-*lena* rebuking and instructing her daughter), viii (an older *meretrix* discoursing on the signs of true passion); cf. also vi. These are virtually scenes from comedy.

Aristaenetus³ Ep. i. 4. One youth (*peritus*) addresses another (*rudis*), σὺ δὲ τούτων ἄπειρος (*rudis*) εἶμι· ἀλλ' ἔπον καὶ μάθαι, καὶ συναπόλαυσον ἐρωτικῇ διδασκάλῳ (*praeceptor amoris*). τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μάθημα παρ' ὀντινοῦν ποιῶμαι δεινότατος (*peritissimus*!) εἶναι. The whole letter is in point.

Aristaenetus Ep. i. 14. A *meretrix* writes to a youth that money alone will influence her; she has been too well taught to be wheedled by

47 ff.; (II) 722 ff., and *Rh. M.* LV (1900), 604 ff.; F. Wilhelm *Satura Viadrina* (1896) 48 ff.; *Philologus* LX (1901), 579-92; *Rh. M.* LVII (1902), 57-75, 599 ff.; LIX (1904), 279 ff.; R. Buerger *De Ovidii carminum amat. inventione et arte*, Guelpherbyti (1901). These investigations have proved most useful for my purpose and I make free use of their results and materials. Other references will be added at the proper places.

¹ *Class. Phil.* V (1910), 28-40.

² Edited by C. Jacobitz, III, Teubner text (1881). The close connection between the *Dialogi meretr.* and the *rea* is evident to any reader and has been excellently worked out in detail by P. Legrand, *op. cit.*, who starts with the explicit testimony of the scholiast (p. 275 ed. Rabe, 1906).

³ Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*, Parisiis, 1873; cf. Hoelzer *op. cit.* 78 ff. Aristaenetus certainly used Lucian in many passages. Cf. Legrand *op. cit.* 181 and Alexandrian elegy (see above, p. 443). Whether he used comedy directly is the point at issue. No direct proofs to the contrary have been offered. Cf. especially Gollnisch, 60-70.

music, etc.; her teacher has been her experienced sister: *ψήθετε δέ με ραδίως ἐξαπατᾶν ὡς ἐρωτικῶν ἀγύμναστον παῖδα καὶ παντελῶς ἀμνητὸν Ἀφροδίτης . . . ἄλλ' ἔγωγε παλαιᾷ συνοῦσα πορνοδιδασκάλῳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνης ἐρασταῖς κατὰ πρόφασιν ὁμιλοῦσα οὐδὲν ἔδοξα δυσμαθῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑταιρικὸν ᾗδῃ μεμελέτηκα βίον, etc.*

Longus¹ *Praefat.* 3-4 (describing his work) . . . *τέτταρας βίβλους ἐξεπονησάμην, ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἐρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Πανί, κτῆμα δὲ τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὃ καὶ νοσοῦντα ἰάσεται, καὶ λυπούμενον παραμυθῆσεται, τὸν ἐρασθέντα ἀναμνήσει, τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει.* This is the attitude assumed by Ovid in the *Ars amatoria*, by Tibullus i. 6, etc., and by Propertius in ii. 34, etc.; cf. *Class. Phil.* V (1910), 30 ff.

Moschus² vi. 7-8 (*ap. Stobaeum*, 63, 29), a bucolic epigram,

*ταῦτα λέγω πᾶσιν τὰ διδάγματα τοῖς ἀνεράστοις·
στέργετε τοὺς φιλέοντας, ἵν' ἡνφιλήτε, φιλήσθε.*

Longus³ ii. 6-7 (an old man, Philetas, instructs the young Daphnis and Chloë on the nature, the attributes, and the effect of Cupid). The passage is too long to quote, but the opening words (c. 7)—after Philetas has told them that they are in Cupid's care—indicate the content: . . . *ἐπυνθάνοντο τί ἐστὶ ποτε ὁ Ἔρως, πότερα παῖς ἢ ὄρνις, καὶ τί δύνатаι.* For the instructive nature of the discourse cf. c. 8, 1: *Φιλητᾶς μὲν τοσαῦτα παιδεύσας αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττεται.*

Achilles Tatius⁴ i. 9-11. Clinias, a youth who is *peritus*, instructs the recently smitten Clitipho, who is, therefore, *rudis*. The remarks of Clinias are rich in erotic *sententiae* and *praecepta*, but it is sufficient here to cite some phrases which indicate the rôle of teacher: Clinias 9, 7: *Ἐν οὖν σοι παραινῶ μόνον, etc.*; Clitipho, *ibid.*, *δός μοι ἀφορμάς· σὺ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερος μύστης ἐμοῦ καὶ συνηθέστερος ἤδη τῇ τελετῇ τοῦ θεοῦ· τί λέγω; τι ποιῶ; πῶς τύχοιμι τῆς ἐρωμένης; Οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τὰς ὁδοὺς.* Although Clinias rejoins that love is *ἀντοδίδακτος* (10, 1), he proceeds to give some general principles: *Ὅσα δ' ἐστὶ κοινὰ καὶ μὴ τῆς εὐκαίρου τύχης δεόμενα, ταῦτα ἀκούσας μάθε.*

In the foregoing passages the rôle of erotic teacher is assigned to the *lena* and the *meretrix*, to the old man and the youth—in all cases

¹ Hercher's text, Lipsiae, 1858. I do not find this passage cited elsewhere.

² Passage in Wilhelm *Sat. Viad.* 58.

³ Hoelzer, *op. cit.* 78, refers to this passage without citation. Longus may have drawn his comic material from Alciphron, who certainly imitated comedy directly; cf. C. Bonner *Class. Phil.* IV (1909), 32-44, 276-90, especially p. 290, who argues against Reich *De Alciphronis Longique aetate*, Königsberg, 1894. But Longus may also have used comedy directly, as Bonner himself admits. No direct proof to the contrary has been offered.

⁴ Hercher's text, Lipsiae, 1858. For the relation of the *erotici* to comedy cf. Rohde's remark p. 443 (above). This passage is referred to without citation by Hoelzer *op. cit.* 78.

to one who is *peritus* (or *perita*). Only twice (Longus *Praefat.* 3-4 and Moschus vi, 7-8) is the rôle assumed by the poet or author. There are thus two forms in which the rôle appears: 1st, assigned to a character, generally a *lena* or *meretrix*; 2nd, assumed by the author. In Roman elegy both forms appear, but the relative frequency is reversed: the leading *praeceptor* is the poet himself, whereas a character appears in the rôle of *praeceptor* much less frequently. This change is due to difference of genre. In elegy, erotic teaching is connected with the subjective attitude—the poet's personal experience and feeling. The poet is, therefore, naturally the *praeceptor*. The same is natural enough in epigram; cf. Moschus. But in the erotic epistles and romances it was hardly possible for the author, recounting the experiences of his characters, to assume this rôle—except in a preface like that of Longus, which closely corresponds to the program poems of Propertius (ii. 34 etc.).¹ In Roman elegy, therefore, we have: first, the transfer, essentially unaltered, of the rôle as assigned to the *lena*,² cf. Prop. iv. 5, Tib. i. 5, 47 ff.; i. 6, 67 ff.; Ovid *Am.* i. 8; second, the rôle of poet-*praeceptor*, cf. Prop. i. 7 and 9; ii. 34 etc.; Tib. i. 4, 75, i. 6, 9 ff.; Ovid, *Am.* ii. 18, 20; *A.A.* i. 1 ff.; ii. 12, etc. Now, the ultimate source of erotic teaching is Greek comedy, especially the *véa*. This is shown by the many close parallels to be found in Plautus and Terence. It is unnecessary to print these passages here, for many of them will be sufficiently outlined later,³ and it is

¹Cf. *Class. Phil.* V.

²I shall have occasion in several places to refer to this transfer of essentially unchanged material of comedy, and whoever reads Propertius iv. 5 will, I think, grant that when applied to the figure and remarks of the *lena* in that elegy (or others quoted) the term is correct. I am careful to make this clear because Leo in his brilliant little rejoinder to Rothstein (*Rh.M.* LV [1900], 609) says, "der Elegiker übernimmt die Motive der Komödie nicht als Rohstoff, sondern er gleicht sie dem Stil seiner Gattung an und es kann unter seiner Hand, zumal unter der eines Dichters wie Properz, mag er auch manche ausgeprägte Münzen weitergeben, immer wieder das äusserliche Motiv zum innerlichen, das grobe zum zarten, etc. . . . das nur der Handlung dienende zum Erreger von Herz und Sprache werden." This is well put and in general correct, but to me the passages I have cited and others still to come are as nearly a transfer of the *Rohstoff* of comedy as the differences between the two genres admit.

³For the *meretrix* as teacher, cf. Plautus *Bacch.* 163-65 (the pupil is a *rudis adulescens*); *Truc.* 132, 735 ff.; Terence *Hec.* 203 ff.; for the *lena* as teacher, cf. Pl. *As.* i. 3, especially 177 ff., 215 ff. (ironical revelations of *praecepta* to an *adulescens*), 504 ff. (to a *meretrix*); *Cist.* 38 ff., 78-81 (to a *meretrix*); Terence *Eun.* 233 ff.; the older *meretrix* instructing a younger, *Most.* i. 3, especially 171, 186, 246, 265-78; *Poen.*

enough to say that in comedy the rôle of erotic teacher is often assigned to a *lena*, *meretrix*, or even an *adulescens*. When, therefore, in elegy this rôle is transferred bodily, as in Prop. iv, 5 or Ovid A. 1. 8, in both of which *lenae praecepta* are given at length and cursed by the poet,¹ and this transfer of the rôle is compared with the more numerous and more truly elegiac passages in which the poet is the erotic teacher, the relative age of the two forms appears. The first—the character as teacher—is the original form; the second—the poet as teacher—has developed out of the first because only by such a change could the rôle become essentially elegiac. The poet takes the place of the *lena* or *meretrix* or *peritus adulescens* of comedy, and becomes an erotic expert himself. He has the same pupils—other youths, occasionally a *senex*,² even the *meretrix* herself. He turns the *praecepta meretricum* against the sex, as we shall see, or professes to have discovered new principles. He claims, at least partially or in unguarded moments, to have acquired his knowledge from experience,³ just as most of his predecessors in comedy had acquired theirs. All this is clear. But although the fact of this development cannot be doubted, the par-

216, 233-329; the *peritus adulescens* instructing a friend, Tri. 665-78, etc. Legrand, *op. cit.*, remarks that the fragments of the *véa* give hardly any aid; cf. 258 K (Menander). He notes that Philostr. xvi mentions Menander, and adds Turpilus frag. I (*Demiurgus*).

¹The arts of the *lena*, etc., are, of course, often opposed to the interests of the lover. *Hinc imprecationes!* Tibullus is no less emphatic (i. 5, 47 ff.; ii. 6, 44 ff.).

²Lyceus, the poet-philosopher, whom Propertius instructs (ii. 34), is probably a reflex of the philosopher ridiculed by comedy. The attitude of comedy toward philosophers and their tenets is discussed by M. Helm *Lucian und Menipp* 371 ff.; cf. Legrand *op. cit.* 213 ff., who compares especially Lucian *Dial. meretr.* x (Drois abuses *ὁ κάκιστα φιλοσόφων ἀπολούμενος Ἀριστίνετος* because he has detained her Kleinias and because he does not practice what he preaches). Legrand does not notice the appearance of this figure in elegy. Ponticus (Prop. i. 7 and 9) is similar. In Alciphron i. 34, 7 Thais tells Ethydemus, who has turned to philosophy, that *amicae* are not worse instructors of youth than the sophists, e.g., Pericles was a pupil of Aspasia, Critias of Socrates!

³Such phrases as "Cynthia me docuit" (Prop. i. 10, 19), "Ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit" (*ibid.* ii. 1, 4), "rudes animos . . . imbuit Lycinna" (*ibid.* iii. 15, 3) are hardly to be compared with the passages of comedy, etc., in which the *meretrix* teaches the youth (Hoelzer *op. cit.* 78), but are merely poetic fiction for experience; cf. *Class. Phil.* V (1910), 39. In the same way the elegist often attributes his erotic knowledge to a god, i.e. to his inspiration; cf. Tib. i. 4 (Priapus, probably influenced by bucolic poetry, which is so important in Tibullus), i. 8 (Venus), Prop. iii. 3, 49 (Calliope), Ovid A.A. ii. 493 (Apollo), etc.

ticular period in which elegy adapted to its own uses the rôle of erotic teacher is not so clear. Had the Alexandrian elegists already made this adaptation, or did the Romans make it themselves directly from comedy? The second alternative seems to me more probable. As negative arguments it may be urged that epigram, with the single exception of Moschus VI, is silent concerning the rôle of erotic teacher. The adaptation was certainly not made in epigram, or at least not developed; and even if it were, epigram owes as much to comedy as to Alexandrian elegy.¹ Moreover the silence of epigram not only removes one possible source of the didactic element in Roman elegy, which owes much to epigram, but also takes away an important factor in the reconstruction of Alexandrian elegy. Again, if the rôle of erotic teacher was as common in Alexandrian elegy as its frequency in Roman elegy would lead those to believe who accept the theory of its derivation from that source, it is strange that (except Longus *Praefat.* 3-4) no reflex of the typically elegiac form—the author- or poet-teacher—has been discovered in the later Greek literature. The Roman elegists have both forms; the late Greeks, who imitated both comedy and Alexandrian elegy, but not Roman elegy, have abundant traces of the comic form only. These facts become intelligible if we assign the transfer of the comic form, the teaching *lena*, to both the late Greeks and the Roman elegists working independently,² and the development of the genuine elegiac form to the Romans.

On the positive side stands the existence of two forms of the rôle in Roman elegy—the one taken bodily from comedy, and undeveloped, though applied to elegiac purposes and set in an elegiac frame, the other a form which could hardly have occurred in comedy at all. This seems to indicate development within the limits of elegy. The first step—transfer of the teaching *lena* directly from comedy—has been proved by Gollnisch *op. cit.* 19-21, for Ovid *Am.* i. 8.³ Not only are there many agreements in detail between this elegy and

¹The same reasoning applies to bucolic poetry, if one prefers to emphasize the bucolic content rather than the epigrammatic form and development of Mosch. VI.

²By this I do not mean that each of the late Greeks worked independently nor that each Roman—especially Ovid—was always independent, but that each *group*, Roman and Greek, was independent of Alexandrian elegy.

³Referred to above, p. 444.

the famous toilet scene of the *Mostellaria* (i. 3), cf. Ovid i. 8, 39-40 with *Most.* 188-90; Ovid. 109-14 with *Most.* 292-93, 203, 192-93, etc., but also the situation is strikingly similar. In the *Mostellaria* Philolaches plays the part of eavesdropper throughout the larger part of the scene, now lauding, now threatening the old *meretrix* Scapha, according as her remarks to Philematium favor or oppose his own interests. Ovid plays the same part and takes the same attitude toward the *lena*. If then Ovid, the least independent of the Roman elegists and the one most likely to use both Alexandrian elegy and his Roman predecessors, drew this motif directly from comedy, substituting himself for the *adulescens* of the play,¹ it becomes more probable that teaching by a *lena* and other erotic teaching in Roman elegy needs no intermediary Alexandrian elegy to explain its existence.²

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¹These agreements with the *Most.* do not prove, of course, that Ovid used the Greek original of that play (Philemon's *Φάσμα*?). Doubtless the situation occurred more than once in the *lena*.

²Gollnisch (*op. cit.* 20) accepts Hoelzer's assertion (*op. cit.* 81-82) that Prop. iv. 5 (*lena*-teacher) is derived from some Alexandrian poet who had used comedy. With Hoelzer's proof I cannot agree. It rests upon the resemblance between Prop. iv. 5 and Aristaenetus *Ep.* i. 14 (partly cited above, p. 445-6)—especially on the quotation in iv. 5, 55-56: *Quid iuvat ornato, etc.*: i. 2. 1-2, and the similar quotation in Aristaenetus, *οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὃ πάρεστι, γινέσθαι γυνή;* Both quotations are used as instances of a typical *blanditia* employed by lovers and detected by the *meretrix*. In both passages the old principle of the *lena* or *meretrix* that songs are of no avail—"money talks"—is used. The ultimate source of both is clearly comedy, and Alexandrian elegy cannot be interposed unless it can be proved on some other evidence than Roman elegy that Aristaenetus did not draw on comedy directly or on Lucian for this motif.

ON THE EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF PLINY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH TRAJAN

BY ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

In a paper entitled "Zur frühen Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Briefwechsels zwischen Plinius und Trajan," which was read before the fiftieth Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner (Graz, 1909), and was printed in *Wiener Studien* XXXI (1909), 250-258, I discussed the traces of the descent of the text concerned during the centuries of its existence in MS form, and set down without argument a few conclusions regarding the history and comparative value of the early printed editions. Of this later period the present paper is designed to treat more fully, even at the risk of some vain repetition.

After some centuries of an independent but precarious existence, the book of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan was appended as a tenth book to the nine books of the miscellaneous letters. From this stage in the history of Pliny's text no complete MS has come down to us, though cod. Ashburnham R. 98 (**B**) preserves a trace of the condition of its archetype in its title, C. PLINI SECVNDI EPISTVLARVM LIBRI NVMERO DECEM. The sister MS of **B**, cod. S. Marci 284 (**F**), is similarly abbreviated, and is without title. But from the same ultimate ten-book source as the immediate parent of **B** and **F** was descended a complete MS, which was found by Fra Giocondo, of Verona, apparently at or near Paris in the first years of the fifteenth century.¹ Apparently very soon after its discovery a copy was made of the correspondence with Trajan by (or for) a certain Petrus Leander,² and sent or brought by him to Hieronymus Avantius, of Verona, who, as is well known, published in May, 1502, "C. Plinii Iunioris ad Traianum Epistolae. 46. nuper repertae cum eiusdem responsis."³

¹On the relation between **B** and **F**, and that of both to this codex Parisinus, see two articles by a pupil of mine, Mr. Frank Eggleston Robbins, published in this number of *Classical Philology*.

²On Petrus Leander cf. Echard *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, t. 2, p. 137 (Paris, 1721).

³The first letter in the edition of Avantius is headed "¶ De lacu Nicomedensium Epistola .xxvii." and is the one numbered 41 in all editions since the one first issued [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY V, October, 1910] 451

Of the reason why only these letters were available for publication in his edition, Avantius vouchsafes us not a word of explanation. This silence, added to the frankness with which he numbers his first letter as xxvii, and continues the numbering in due order therefrom, suggests that he hoped to repair later the loss of the missing first part of the collection. To these indications may be added yet another that looks in the same direction. The first letter given by Avantius begins with its paragraph mark, lemma, and number at the top of the page (fol. Aiii^r) without the intervention of any book-title, extra spacing, unusually large initial letter, or other sign of the opening of a work. Should it prove possible to print later the epistles i-xxvi, the sheets might readily be prefixed to those now issued, and form therewith a consistent whole.

It is perhaps idle to guess what had happened to the copy of letters i-xxvi; but that Leander's copy was made from the complete MS that Giocondo had discovered seems indubitable; therefore it is reasonable to suppose that, being able to copy part of the MS, he was able to copy all, and did copy all, and that the loss of the earlier section was due to some accident in the journey of the sheets from Paris to Italy, or to some untoward event in the study of Avantius, or in the printing-office of Johannes de Tridino,¹ but the find was too important to await the possibility of securing another copy from Paris, and Avantius therefore determined to issue the work in its fragmentary form. The book exhibits a rather unusual number of

by Heinrich Keil. From this the letters proceed in due order, as in Keil's edition, through the final one, which is headed "¶ De Diplomatus .lxxiii." (121 in Keil). There would thus appear to be 47 letters, according to the numbering of Avantius, instead of 46, as he avers in his title. The apparent discrepancy is due to the omission altogether of the number .xxxvi. at the place where it is due (58 in Keil), the serial numbering continuing with .xxxvii. in its proper place. The total of numbered letters, is, therefore, actually 46, and not 47. But another explanation is of course possible, that Avantius simply erred in his computation, subtracting 27 from 73. The numbering in Avantius may be brought into accord with that of Keil by noting that Avantius assigns a single number to a letter of Pliny and to its answer, taken together; that he assigns no number to 58 (Keil), though he does assign numbers to each of the four enclosures that accompany it; and that he also assigns no numbers to 86A, 86B, and 87 (Keil).

¹ It is of course possible that the words of Avantius in his preface, "Petri Leandri industria ex Gallia Plinii iunioris ad Traianum epistolas licet manca deprauiatasque habuimus," mean that the copy was incomplete when it came into the hands of Avantius; but it seems hardly justifiable to push the meaning so far.

simple errors, which appear to be due partly to the inaccuracy of the copy (perhaps arising from furtiveness, but certainly also from difficulty in reading; cf. the preface of the edition of Aldus in 1508), and partly to carelessness in proofreading. The haste of the publication may well be responsible for this deficiency in editorial work.

Only eight months later¹ than the edition of the correspondence with Trajan published by Avantius appeared another by Beroaldus, who, in 1498, had published the eight books of Pliny's miscellaneous letters with such letters of the ninth book (properly the eighth) as were then known, and, in 1501, had issued them in a second edition, joining thereto the *Panegyric* and the *Liber illustrium uirorum*.

Beroaldus is discreetly silent concerning the source of his text of the correspondence with Trajan. "Hae sunt Epistolae aliquot," he says in his preface, "quae nuperrime in lucem prodierunt . . . has proxime recognoui, emaculatasque una cum Panegyrico imprimendas dedi." It will be observed that Beroaldus at any rate does not profess to draw upon any MS source for his text. It would have been more ingenuous of him to state distinctly that his only source was the printed book of Avantius. He prints precisely the same letters as Avantius, and an inspection of the readings wherein his text differs from that of his predecessor shows so clearly that I need not here rehearse the details that his was merely the work of a corrector, which he performed in a very creditable fashion.² It would have been a curious coincidence indeed, if two independent copies of the Paris MS had suffered loss in precisely the same amount. It is hardly credible that any copy of only these last 46 letters from the Paris MS existed which could serve as the archetype of both the copy made by (or for) Peter Leander, and a copy used by Beroaldus. It would have been more wonderful yet if these two equally truncated copies had been made, one from the Paris MS, and the other from an independent source. And it would have been most wonderful of all if the publication of Avantius, with its evident marks of haste, if not

¹The edition by Avantius was published in May, 1502, that by Beroaldus in January of the same year; but March was then the first month of the year, and the edition of Avantius therefore preceded that of Beroaldus by eight months.

²The readings of Beroaldus and Catanaeus are very imperfectly cited in the *apparatus criticus* of Keil's edition of Pliny's *Letters* (1870). I hope to present them with accuracy and completeness in the *apparatus criticus* of my own critical edition, taking them from copies of the works in my possession.

of surreptitiousness (note also that Avantius says merely that the MS was *ex Gallia*), could have had as its final source quite a different codex from the Parisinus that we know to have been discovered about this time. Precisely as, in 1498, Beroaldus had simply appropriated the work of Pomponius Laetus, so now he appropriated that of Avantius. He furthermore gave an air of finality to his edition by omitting the serial numbers of the letters (by which Avantius had so frankly called attention to the loss of such a considerable amount from the beginning of the book), and he inserted a brief address before each letter, while Avantius gave none, but only a lemma before each letter or pair (in one case a larger group) of letters. In this respect Avantius doubtless followed Leander's copy, who, in turn, had in this particular accurately transcribed the Paris codex; for there is the same lack of addresses in the transcript made for Guillaume Budé of the first 26 letters from the Paris codex. Of this transcript I must now speak.

Soon after the publication of the correspondence with Trajan by Avantius, a copy of his edition and one of the 1498 edition by Beroaldus of the nine books of Pliny's miscellaneous letters were taken by Guillaume Budé, and the parts needed to complete the entire body of correspondence were interpolated in manuscript from the Paris codex that Giocondo had discovered. The whole was bound together in a single volume, which Budaeus apparently thenceforth used as his *handexemplar* of Pliny's *Letters*. He inserted in the printed portions of the volume very many text-corrections, taken, as were the MS supplements, from the Paris codex. This source of the corrective readings, and of the MS supplements, he himself makes clear in an appended note. To the notes of readings from Parisinus he also added from time to time a few emendations of his own, and, in later years, a few readings drawn from other sources, especially from the 1506 edition of Catanaeus. His book is now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.¹

Meanwhile a copy of the entire codex Parisinus had been made by Giocondo at Paris and brought by him to his friend Aldus, at Venice, together with six other copies of Pliny's *Letters*, partly

¹ Cf. E. T. Merrill "On a Bodleian Copy of Pliny's Letters," in *Classical Philology* II (1907), 130-56.

in manuscript, partly in print corrected from manuscripts.¹ But it is evident that none of these except the copy of Parisinus contained any trace of the correspondence with Trajan. Two years later Aloisio Mocenigo, who had been serving as Venetian ambassador at Paris, returned home, and brought Aldus the codex Parisinus itself. On the basis chiefly of this manuscript, about the antiquity and correctness of which Aldus speaks in rapturous terms, he issued in 1508, at Venice, the first text of Pliny's *Letters* complete in ten books. The after fate of the codex Parisinus is unknown. In 1518 Aldus issued a second edition of his work, but the only changes consisted in the correction of a few typographical errors, and the improvement by conjecture of a few readings. No fresh MS aid was invoked, and many passages susceptible of easy improvement were left as first printed.

But we must turn back to follow a step farther the fortunes of the truncated text of the correspondence with Trajan.

In 1506 Iohannes Maria Catanaeus published at Milan a text of the same letters of Pliny that had been issued by Beroaldus in 1498, appending to them as a book labeled *Epistolae ad Traianum .C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi* the correspondence with Trajan issued by Avantius and Beroaldus in 1502—forty-six letters, no more, no less. On the source of his text Catanaeus touches only in the single remark that he had at first thought of refraining altogether from publishing these letters to and from Trajan, "et quia uno tantum exemplari praeter impressa nec illo admodum uetusto adiuti fuimus, et ne iccirco ansam maledicis obiurgandi daremus." The *exemplaria impressa* were of course the editions by Avantius and Beroaldus. But Catanaeus distinctly claims to have had also a MS at hand, though it was "not very old." Keil (ed. 1870, praef. p. xxxvi) did not entirely reject this statement, conceding that Catanaeus might have had a copy, with some added conjectures, of the same sheets that Avantius had used, though insisting that Catanaeus made no changes that could not have been reached by conjecture. But Keil proffered no proof of his judgment, and since in later days Wilde,² and even

¹ Cf. the preface to the edition of Pliny's *Letters* by Aldus (Venice, 1508).

² G. I. Wilde *De C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi et Imperatoris Traiani Epistulis Mutuis Disputatio* (Leyden, 1889) 123.

so distinguished a student of such matters as Remigio Sabbadini,¹ have asserted their belief in the truthfulness of Catanaeus regarding his MSS, at least as set forth in his second edition, the question may perhaps deserve some slight examination.

For the purposes of this examination the correspondence with Trajan may be considered in two divisions: one comprising x. 41-121, the letters that first appeared in the editions of Avantius and Beroaldus, and were issued by Catanaeus in his edition of 1506, and the other comprising x. 1-40, the letters that first appeared in the edition of Aldus in 1508, and were first included by Catanaeus in his edition of 1518 (the same year that saw also the second Aldine edition.)

The method of examination concerning the first division of the text (x. 41-121), in the lack of other evidence, must rest upon two things; first, as Keil saw, upon a comparison of the readings of Catanaeus in the letters in question with those of Avantius, whose publication preceded his; and second, upon a comparison of the readings in the given letters adopted by Catanaeus in his second edition (1518) that differ from those of his first edition (1506). The reason for this second point I will specify when I come to it.

In taking up the first point, it must be borne in mind that Catanaeus in 1506 distinctly speaks of using the *exemplaria impressa* in the preparation of his text of the correspondence with Trajan, and many of his variations from the text of Avantius are found to agree with those previously adopted by Beroaldus. As Beroaldus neither had nor professed to have any manuscript for his authority, it is very evident that in the examination of the readings of the text of Catanaeus for the purpose of helping to determine whether his profession of having a manuscript at command is true, all his variations from Avantius that agree with those of Beroaldus must be left out of consideration.

The total number of variants in Catanaeus from the readings in Avantius, exclusive of probable misprints, differences in mere orthography, and alterations in mere grammatical forms (like *-arunt* for *-auerunt*), is about 215. Of these, 73 are already found in Beroaldus. The remaining 142 are too many to be recorded in the pages

¹ R. Sabbadini "Storia e Critica di Alcuni Testi Latini," *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* III (1890), 357.

of this journal. They must be examined in detail in the promised *apparatus criticus* to the *Letters*. Comparatively few of them would find a place on any theory of their origin in the text of the *Letters*. The large majority are not merely wrong readings, but they are not such as suggest from their nature that they must have had a manuscript behind them. They smack rather of an eagerness for arbitrary emendation. Even though, for example, Catanaeus did well (as against Avantius and Beroaldus) in perceiving that 86A must be separated from 86, and 86B from 86A, yet he did very ill in striking out the words *quam ea quae speret* at the mutilated opening of 86B, and inserting what was clearly a mere guess of his own, *Fabium Valentem* (cf. Wilde *loc. cit.* 119 ff.). His zeal for similar emendation in the immediate neighborhood of this success led him still farther astray in the desertion of Beroaldus, and the building upon Avantius in the division of 87 into two letters. Avantius had begun *Nymphidium* in 87. 3 with a large, ornamented, capital letter, such as he uses at the beginning of a new epistle, and had concluded the preceding sentence with a period. Beroaldus rightly corrected the error; but Catanaeus reverted to Avantius, and even outdid him, dividing the epistle and prefixing an address.

The total impression created by the study of the entire mass of variants may be summed up by saying that if this part of the examination were all that could be made, and there were no other reason to suspect the truthfulness of Catanaeus, it might be believed, as he claimed, that he had at command a manuscript "not very old"—probably a sister of that used by Avantius—and that some of his aberrations were due to a wilful preference of his own guesses to the leading of his guide. At the same time it would seem curious and a bit disturbing that out of some 140 variants from Avantius none were of such a character as clearly to indicate their dependence upon a manuscript. There the first part of the examination must rest.

To turn now to the second part of the examination, that of the readings in x. 41-121 in the edition of 1506 that differ from those in the edition of 1518; this appears to be of some value because the first edition of Aldus (1508) had been published in the interval between the two editions of Catanaeus.

Whatever changes Catanaeus made in the text of x. 41-121 in his second edition as compared with his first must have come from conjecture or from the copying of Aldus; for, as I shall point out later, Catanaeus does not claim to have any new MS authority for the text of these particular letters. Now, the number of these changes is very large. It is difficult to give the precise sum of them, because not infrequently changes in consecutive, or nearly consecutive, words might be counted as one variation, or as more than one. But according to a conservative enumeration the number of changes of reading in x. 41-121 made by Catanaeus in his second edition as compared with his first is 229; and 196 of these readings agree with those of Aldus, or substantially so. Of the remaining number, which of course must be due to conjecture, none are of any considerable importance for our discussion. In this count are charitably omitted changes of addresses in Cat.² from Cat.¹, the addition of *lemmata* to the letters in Cat.² (taken, of course, from Aldus), all merely orthographical alterations, and finally, misprints clearly such. The degree of the copying from Aldus is very striking. Yet Catanaeus ridicules unsparingly both Aldus' estimate of the age (and consequent value in his eyes) of his MS from Paris, and also Aldus' editorial work. By this action Catanaeus seriously impeaches his own integrity. If he had had a MS on which to found his first edition, even such a "not very old" one as he professed, it is with difficulty conceivable that he would forsake it in such a very large number of instances in behalf of the work of his decried competitor. The only conclusion appears to be that he had no MS support for his first edition of x. 41-121, but later, finding that Aldus had (and a wonderfully good MS too) he was shrewd enough to appropriate his rival's achievement, while hoping to distract attention by abusing the man from whom he committed the theft.

In 1506 Catanaeus appropriated the editions of x. 41-121 by Avantius and Beroaldus, and built his own upon them, professing to have a MS in order to enhance his dignity, disguise his obligations, and gain credit for his emendations; but conceding that his MS was "not very old," in order to forestall blame for not curing more difficulties. In 1518, nine years after the appearance of the edition of Aldus, he did not hesitate to discard Avantius in favor of Aldus,

even though thereby he discredited his own former pretensions. He perhaps hoped that after the lapse of so many years the deadly parallel would not be appealed to.

If Catanaeus had professed to have for these letters x. 41-121 any further MS authority in his second edition than in his first, it would be necessary only to point out in how many of these instances the readings of Aldus with which Catanaeus agrees are clearly only conjectural expansions by Aldus, after his confirmed manner, of the briefer and sincerer readings of Parisinus, which Avantius more truly presents. They could not have stood in any MS that Catanaeus had. They were conjectures of Aldus, and Catanaeus copied them from him. But under the actual circumstances this detailed examination is certainly not necessary.

Let us now turn to the discussion of the other division of the correspondence, namely x. 1-40.

In his second edition of the letters of Pliny, published in 1518, Catanaeus prefixed in due order to the letters to and from Trajan that he had printed in his first edition the 26 (x. 1-40, as we now commonly reckon them) that had first seen the light by the care of Aldus in 1508. Of the source of these additional letters he says in his preface,¹

Emiseram iam pridem commentarios in eas Plinii Caecilii epistolas, quae forte tunc impressae circumferebantur. Caeterum cum postea Romam uenissem, ac cum Dominico Mamiliano uiro in libris antiquae lectionis perquirendis diligentissimo beneuolentiam contraxissem, descriptas mihi de uetustissimo codice germanico plures ad Traianum, et insuper quasdam eiusdem Plinii ad amicos epistolas legendas obtulit, quae de libro octauo exciderant, etc.

A little farther on, Catanaeus abuses Aldus roundly (though without mentioning his name) for his ignorance as an editor of Pliny's letters, and especially for his stupidity in supposing codex Parisinus to be so ancient. Incidentally he refers to the codex Germanicus from which Mamilianus had made the copy as *peruetustum*.

Here again Catanaeus does not profess to have more than a recent transcript of a very old MS "from Germany," or perhaps we must

¹ Not having constant access to a copy of the 1518 issue of the second edition by Catanaeus, I have quoted from my copy of the reprint of that edition issued by Ascensius at Paris in 1533, which appears to represent accurately the second recension.

understand "in Germany"; and this transcript embraced only those letters that the Roman edition of 1474, and all following editions up to that of Aldus in 1508, had omitted from the eighth book (viii. 8. 3—18. 11), and also the letters to and from Trajan that Avantius, Beroaldus, and Catanaeus himself in his first edition had not printed, but which had later appeared in the 1508 edition of Aldus. Only thus can we understand the words quoted from the preface of Catanaeus.

That a transcript of only these letters should have been made to supplement and complete the printed editions is, to be sure, by no means impossible. Budaeus had precisely such a partial copy from the codex Parisinus made for his own use, to supplement the editions of Beroaldus (1498) and Avantius (1502),¹ and although there is no reason to suppose that any copy was ever made from his copy, it is of course conceivable that the copyist who transcribed the letters for Budaeus might also have had opportunity to make another copy which finally reached Catanaeus. But Catanaeus declares his transcript to be from a German codex, and not from a Gallican one. That is, we are asked to believe that out of Germany appeared not, indeed, a MS of the correspondence with Trajan, but a transcript of a part of that MS, and from this time on nothing more was ever heard of the remarkable original! Catanaeus ridicules Aldus for claiming such great age for his Parisinus; but at least Aldus was perfectly explicit about the provenience and journeyings of the MS. Why was Catanaeus so vague—not to say reticent—about the circumstances surrounding his Germanicus? His assault on Aldus challenged explicitness from himself. This he avoids. In place of openness he snarls and growls. The circumstances arouse suspicion. Moreover, he stands under a cloud regarding the claims made by him about the MS authority for the correspondence with Trajan in his first edition.

But the ultimate appeal must be made to the text itself. And here we may disregard x. 41–121, for which Catanaeus does not profess to have any new authority, and consider merely the letters x. 1–40, which he prints for the first time in his second edition. In this matter the examination is established on a basis that was not

¹See *Classical Philology* II (1907), 132, 135.

accessible to Keil; for the *handexemplar* of Budaeus preserved at Oxford contains a transcript of x. 4-40 from the Paris codex. By this we may check the readings of Aldus, knowing that Aldus had no other authority than Parisinus for the letters in question. And by this also we may check the readings of Catanaeus.

The result of the comparison of the text of Catanaeus (*Cat.*) for x. 1-40 with the texts of Aldus (*a*) and of the Budaeus transcript (*I*; or Budaeus as corrector, *i*) is somewhat interesting. There are only some 60 variations of reading between Catanaeus and Aldus (disregarding, as before, misprints, or their corrections, and orthographical differences). These lend themselves to easy arrangement in three categories, as follows (references are by page and line of Keil's edition of 1870):

A. Under the first heading may be grouped these cases, including a trifle over one-third of the total number of variants:

273. 9 status *Ia* statuarum *Cat.*
 16 et multas et omnes publicas *Ia* et priuatas multas et omnes publicas, *Cat.*
 26 et *Ia* etiam *Cat.*
 28 νόμον μεμφίτρον α νομόν μεμφιτικόν *Cat.* νόμον μεμφίτρον in lac. i
 274. 10 Abascanto *Ia* Abascantio *Cat.*
 15 quoque indulsisti *Ia* quoque saepe indulsisti *Cat.*
 16 Accium a Attium *I* Actium *Cat.*
 18 quietissimum *Ia* quietissimam *Cat.*
 24 morum *Ia* maiorum *Cat.*
 275. 12 mi *Ia* mihi *Cat.*
 28 minime *Ia* nimie *Cat.*
 277. 13 reuerentissime et officiosissime *Ia* reuerentissimae et officiosissimae *Cat.*
 19 scripturum *Ia* scriptum *Cat.*
 278. 14 intribuantur *Ia* intribuant *Cat.* intribuatur *a*²
 25 et cumulat *Ia* ut cumulet *Cat.*
 279. 14 ita *Ia*, om. *Cat.*
 280. 4 oportebit *Ia* oportebat *Cat.*
 6 inquisitio *Ia* inquisitor *Cat.*
 11 exegit *Ia* exigit *Cat.*
 281. 3 meminerimus *Ia* memineris *i* *Cat.*
 282. 3 fuerint . hetariae * [** om. I*] quae breues fient *Ia* fuerint hetariae quamuis breues fient *Cat.*
 283. 10 tempus *Ia* opus *Cat.*

Many of the above instances, taken by themselves apart from the context, look as if they might be mere palaeographical variants of a common enough sort. But studied in their respective contexts they smack not of palaeographical error, but of attempted emendation of the text of *Ia*. It might be remarked that in all these cases the emendation is a bad one. This, to be sure, is not the real point at issue; but one would not expect to find in Catanaeus' professed "codex Germanicus uetustissimus" such an array of simple but bad emendations. The expectation would be rather to find more readings that are clearly not due to any attempts at emendation. But in hope of this we must evidently pass to other categories.

B. About as many variants as in class A are very plainly to be judged otherwise as to the quality of the reading. Not all of them are clearly better readings than those of Aldus, but none of them are impossible. Some are very striking improvements upon the readings of Aldus. In some cases *I*, which may be taken as certainly representing Parisinus with fidelity, agrees with Catanaeus as against Aldus; in others Aldus himself, in his second edition (1518), contemporaneous with that of Catanaeus, reached the same end by conjecture. The list follows:

- 270 [III B] *Cat.* distinguishes from preceding letter (in note does not profess MS authority!)
271. 19 sollicitudine (soli- a) *Ia* sollicitudini a² *Cat.*
 23 matronam habet *Ia* patronam habuit *Cat.*
273. 4 locationem *Ia* locatio cum *Cat.*² i²
 19 quod *Ia* quo a² *Cat.*
274. 27 uacat *Ia* uacant *Cat.* (probably right but can't be sure)
 31 Imp. Maxime a imp. maximae *I* *Cat.*
275. 8 itinere *Ia* itineri a² *Cat.*
 13 in om. *Ia*, add. *Cat.*
276. 33 regere a regerere *I* *Cat.*
277. 3 sit *Ia* est *Cat.*
278. 3 habent est sordidum *Ia* (perhaps rightly) habent et sordidum *Cat.*
279. 5 meam *Ia* mea a² *Cat.*²
280. 6 dati lecti sunt *Ia* dati lecti si sunt *Cat.*
 10 dies pro quo *Ia* dies pro quo *I* uel i dies quo *Cat.*
 17 similia in his *Ia* similiaque his i *Cat.*
 26 relinqui a reliqui *I* *Cat.*
 31 quid a quod *I* qui a² *Cat.*

281. 5 quo qui **Ia** quod qui i *Cat.*
 23 ut **Ia** et a² *Cat.*²
 30 complurimum **Ia** complurium *Cat.*
 283. 11 inchoauerint quid itaque compereris per aquaeductus et reliquerint fer **Ia** inchoauerint aquaeductus et reliquerint. quid itaque compereris perfer *Cat.*
 284. 7 conferunt a conferent **I** *Cat.*
 24 illi **Ia** illis i *Cat.*

No one is competent to deny that such of the above readings of Catanaeus as are surely in agreement with what Pliny himself wrote might have survived in a MS of the *Letters* till the fifteenth century. But all the variants in Class B, as well as those in Class A, are of such a character as to be easily reached by conjecture (good, bad, or indifferent) based merely upon the text of Aldus. Had Catanaeus a MS at command of different source from that of Aldus, one would certainly expect to find in Classes A and B some few readings that would appeal to the critic as not so possible to attain by mere conjecture. The text of Aldus is not so impeccable as to make this expectation unreasonable. And one would further expect to find in the notes of Catanaeus some definite statements that his manuscript read thus and so in contradistinction to that of Aldus. But I believe he makes no such statement anywhere, though in iii. B he caustically remarks:

Qui hanc epistolam cum praecedenti coniunxerunt, ut esset una et eadem cum superiore, ex professo arguuntur non habuisse exemplar temporibus Plinii scriptum, ut asserunt, neque sensum ullo modo intellexisse.

Yet not even here does he definitely cite his "codex Germanicus uetustissimus," or its transcript. It is a cause of legitimate wonder that Aldus did not, even in his second edition, see that iii. B, whatever the lack of separation in Parisinus, was in reality the first in the series of Trajan's replies.¹ But Catanaeus might easily have made this correction without the aid of a MS. As he himself suggests in *neque sensum ullo modo intellexisse*, he needed only to understand the sense in order to assign the few lines to their proper source.

From this examination of a full two-thirds of the variations of Catanaeus from Aldus is it hard to reconcile the patent facts with

¹Probably in the original MS of book x there were no addresses given, but only a lemma for each letter, or for each pair of letters, where the letter was accompanied by an answer; cf. also x. 57 in A.

the editor's profession of having in possession a transcript of x. 1-40 from a German MS. This difficulty becomes an impossibility on consulting the final class of examples.

C. In this final class of variants the Budaeian transcript pretty surely represents Parisinus correctly, but Aldus has emended Parisinus—almost always wrongly—sometimes, indeed, preposterously—or else has blundered otherwise; yet Catanaeus copies Aldus, or builds upon him! I append the list:

- 271 [lemma of V] Ciuitatem Romanam latraliptae suo petit I Ciuitatem Romanam Harpocrati latraliptae suo petit a *Cat.*
 271. 7 aduerte I adit te a auget *Cat.* apud te a² (*rightly*).
 272. 5 et si eum I eum scilicet a *Cat.* esse eum i (*rightly*).
 34 Kal. septembribus I Kal. Septembris a Calend. Septembris *Cat.*
 275. 2 cum I ut a *Cat.*
 275 [lemma of XV] in Bithyniam profligato I in Bithyniam a *Cat.*
 276. 7 agantur I aguntur a *Cat.*
 8 cum maxime I cum Maximo a *Cat.*
 13 et I ut a *Cat.*
 21 sufficientes I sufficienter a *Cat.*
 277. 10 milites om. I, add. a et *Cat.*
 26 te poscat an homines in se ut latius uelint (uelit I) Ia res poscat an homines imperare latius uelint *Cat.*
 278. 4 et uetus. itaque tamen aestimans (aestimans *corr.* ex aestimamus) nouum fieri quod uideris mihi desiderio eorum indulgere posse I et uetus. Id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desyderant, ego tamen aestimans fieri debere, uideris mihi desyderio eorum indulgere posse a *Cat.*
 28 dabitque I dabit ipse a *Cat.*
 279. 29 dixerant sacramentum ita nondum I dixerant sacramento militari i nondum a dixerant sacramento militari nondum *Cat.* dixerant sacramento ita nondum i (*rightly*)
 281. 11 solent et ad I solent enim eius modi ad a *Cat.*
 282 [lemma of XXXVII] De aquaeductu I De aquaeductu Nicomediensium a *Cat.*
 282. 20 h̄ s̄ · xxx · CCCXVIII I · H-S-xxx · ccc · xxviii · a · HS · xxx · ccc · xxix · *Cat.*
 21 imperfectus adhuc emissus destructus etiam est I imperfectus adhuc relictus ac etiam destructus est a *Cat.*
 284. 6 addit I addunt a *Cat.* [additi *Casaubon*, *rightly*]

In view of these readings it is impossible to believe that Catanaeus had either any transcript from a MS from Germany, or even any

copy from Parisinus. Either one of these would have left more evident trace of itself upon the text of Catanaeus; and especially, he would not have abandoned its readings for the readings of his decried rival, Aldus, in so many instances where it must have read differently from Aldus. In 1506, and again in 1518, Catanaeus put forward a vague claim to support by MS authority in order to conceal the undignified fact that he was depending for his text on Avantius and Aldus respectively, as corrected by his own conjectures. He had no manuscript of any part of the correspondence with Trajan. At the very best the professed transcript, received from Dominicus Mamilianus, of viii. 8. 3-18. 11 and x. 1-40, if it existed at all, could have been only a transcript of these previously unknown letters from the 1508 edition of Aldus, and not from the Gallican codex itself—still less from a German codex¹.

Sabbadini's faith in the truthfulness of Catanaeus was due in part to the charity that "believeth all things" ("bisognerebbe supporre che fosse un grande imbrogliatore questo signor Cattaneo, se uogliamo negargli fede che il suo codice venisse dalla Germania e non dalla Francia"); yet his belief was doubtless made more easy by his conviction that a tradition of the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan was extant at Ferrara before 1450;² but this conviction he has later, and wisely, retracted,³ and his charity is left unsupported to bear the moral shock to which charity is too often exposed in this wicked world of ours.

Wilde's belief in the truthfulness of Catanaeus concerning his use of MSS was based on the existence of three readings of Greek words or phrases found in Catanaeus, which Wilde believed must have come from a MS, because Hardy⁴ said they occur among the manuscript corrections in the volume at Oxford which has before been mentioned. The conclusion was that these readings must, therefore have stood in Parisinus, although they do not stand in the

¹ For the text of viii. 8. 3-18. 11 Catanaeus of course depended in 1518 on the 1508 edition of Aldus and on the codex Mediceus (M), which he mentions in his preface, and was the first to use. He needed no transcript of these letters from any other source on which to found his readings.

² *Museo Ital. Antich. Class. loc. cit.*

³ R. Sabbadini *La Scuola e gli Studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* 111 (1896).

⁴ E. G. Hardy *Journal of Philology* XVII, 95-108.

text of Aldus. Their existence in Catanaeus proved, therefore, to Wilde that Catanaeus must have had, as he claimed, the help of MSS for his text. Mr. Hardy, who first grouped them together (along with one other which Wilde acknowledges as a conjecture of Catanaeus; cf. p. 457), was at a loss for an explanation. But after all the explanation is both simple and sure. Budaeus, as I have elsewhere demonstrated,¹ and not Aldus, as Mr. Hardy fondly imagined, was the owner and user of the volume in question, and these notes are indubitably by his own hand. But they were taken, not from codex Parisinus at all, but in after-years from the printed edition of Catanaeus, from which Budaeus drew some other emendations also for his *handexemplar*. This is clearly demonstrable, and the puzzle of Mr. Hardy, and the slender foundation of Wilde's faith in the honesty of Catanaeus, vanish together. Catanaeus of course arrived at the readings by pure conjecture.

As authorities for the text of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan there now abide Avantius (1502), Aldus (1508), and the Oxford volume; and these three agree in coming from a single source, the lost Parisinus. But they differ in value, and the two parts of book x (1-40 and 41-121) must also be considered separately. For x. 1-40 (lacking, however, x. 1-3B by early excision of a leaf in I) the transcript of these letters in the Bodleian volume is the better witness, Aldus ranking below it on account of his wilful alterations. Avantius did not print these letters. For x. 41-121 Avantius, as corrected by such of the notes of Budaeus² in the Bodleian volume as come straight from Parisinus, is the better witness, Aldus again being guilty of unwarranted emendations. Catanaeus, I fear, must have been, as Sabbadini was so reluctant to believe him, "un grande imbroglione."

¹ *Classical Philology* II, *loc. cit.*

² When I published the article in *Classical Philology* II, "On a Bodleian Copy of Pliny's Letters," I had not had opportunity "to confront the unquestionable Latin hand of Budaeus with the photographs of the Latin hand i" (cf. *loc. cit.* 155), though my argument seemed to me "so conclusive as not to need further confirmation from the handwriting test." But since that time the publication of facsimiles of the writing of Budaeus in the books of M. Louis Delaruelle has made the comparison possible. The hands are clearly identical. M. Henri Omont has also been kind enough to examine photographs of the Bodleian volume that I sent him, and decides the hand i to be beyond a doubt that of Budaeus.

THE RELATION BETWEEN CODICES B AND F OF PLINY'S LETTERS¹

BY FRANK EGGLESTON ROBBINS

The exact relationship between codex Beluacensis and codex Florentinus of the letters of Pliny is not yet settled, although even before the recovery of B the close connection of the two MSS was undisputed. The purpose of this paper is to examine the evidence and to decide the question as definitely as possible.

B and F agree very closely in contents. The content of B at the present time is: i. 1—ii. 4. 2 *extiterim*; ii. 12. 3 *praebere*—iii. 5. 20 *futura*; iii. 11. 9 *amicos*—iv. 25. 5 *uale*; iv. 27. 1—v. 6. 32 *pererrat*. The MS breaks off suddenly and without any warning at the bottom of the *verso* of fol. 18, its last leaf. The first two lacunae, as has been shown, are due to the removal, in each case, of two leaves. In F the only large lacuna is iv. 25. 5 *uale*—iv. 27. 1, and the MS extends in the first hand through v. 6, ending on the sixth line from the bottom of fol. 77 *recto*; the rest, comprising v. 7—v. 8. 4 *natura curiosi*, was written much later, apparently by the same scribe who corrected the Greek quotations. If, then, v. 6 was originally completed in B, on an extra leaf stitched on after fol. 18, as seems very probable (although the last page of B in its present state seems from its rubbed and blurred condition to have been on the outside for a long time), the original content of B and F was the same. In any case the loss of iv. 26 in both points strongly to their close connection, and their remarkable similarity throughout the text is further evidence in the same direction. To illustrate this point we may cite:²

3. 7: *curatius*, D; *accuratius*, BF; *cura maiore*, MV.

5. 8: *illa popularia illa paucorum quid cubicula*, MV; *illa popine quid euripus quid cubicula*, BF.

5. 17: *numquam tuum desinet esse si semel coeperit*, BFD a; *numquam desinet esse si semel coeperit tuum*, MV.

¹I am indebted to Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of the University of Chicago, for much material and friendly suggestion in the preparation of this and the following paper. The system of nomenclature of the principal MSS, and the abbreviations therefor, are those adopted by him in his *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Macmillan, 1903).

²Citations of the text are made by page and line in Keil's larger edition (1870).

Although in general B and F are much alike, there are many points of difference which at once furnish us the bulk of the evidence upon the questions under discussion, and allow us to form a conception of the methods followed in the copying of each MS and of the character of its scribe. The scribe of F seems to have been not unwilling to emend portions of the text which he failed to understand, or where he thought a small change or addition made an improvement; he was rather keen, but not very brilliant. On the other hand, the scribe of B evidently presents a faithful copy of his exemplar, and, it will be seen from various citations, probably reproduces in certain cases even its minute peculiarities. As an illustration of the character of the transmission of F, see for example 67. 14, where F reads *dormiebatque non minimum*, inserting *non* against the authority of all the other MSS. The scribe must have reasoned that if the elder Pliny awoke *quasi alio die*, his nap was not particularly short. Again, in 104. 17, F reads *conscribitur*, while BMVDA correctly read *constringitur*; F's reading must be an attempt to better the text. There are besides about thirty instances where in F a short word, like *inquit*, *sed*, *enim*, *et*, *ut*, *-que* or *quidem*, has been added. These additions are not necessary, but are precisely the sort of glosses with which the scholars of the Middle Ages often delighted to cover their classical texts. A fair example is 8. 1, *nondum ab exilio uenerat* BMVD; *nondum enim ab exilio uenerat* F (*enim* above the line, first hand).

The character of the copyist of B is best illustrated by contrasting him with the copyist of F in cases where the former was content to copy what stood in his exemplar, even though difficult to understand, while the latter would attempt an emendation; as in 19. 3, *qui studia ut non simul et nos amet* B (*non* is added by the second hand, approximately contemporary with the first); *qui nos amet, ut studia non simulet*, F.¹

The readings so far cited are unimportant for the solution of our problem. The last reading of F, for instance, could be based as well upon the text of B itself as upon that of any ancestor of B. The two MSS are indeed so nearly alike that clear evidence, based on

¹o reads the same as F. There is, however, absolutely no proof that F was affected by the "eight-book" MSS, though many of them show interpolations from it.

striking differences, is very rare, and the weighing of testimony is a delicate matter. In the first place, we shall examine evidence bearing upon the question whether F is a direct descendant of B itself. It is obvious that the best proof that this is not the case is to point out matter in F which cannot be derived from B but must have been taken from a MS earlier than B of which B is a descendant.

In 4. 4, B and F omit *nam uim*, but between the lines F has *sive materiam*. F cannot have taken *sive materiam* either from B or from a descendant of B; F, therefore, was copied from a MS earlier than B, from which already the words *nam uim* had disappeared, although the gloss on those words—*sive materiam*—was retained. One other passage points clearly to the same conclusion, that F is not a descendant of B: 102. 5, *sed prius accipe causas rogandi deinde ipsum quod peto proxime cum* B F a; *deinde ipsum quod peto*, om. M V. These words are plainly written in B, but the copyist of F first wrote *proxime cum* immediately following *causas rogandi*, later erasing it and substituting *deinde ipsum quod peto*. The traces of erasure are visible in the MS. Now, *deinde ipsum quod peto*, which M and V omit, is most probably a gloss, for as it stands in the context it is tautological and unnecessary; but it is just the sort of a gloss that an ingenious copyist would make. If F is a descendant of B there is no good explanation why *proxime cum* was first copied and then erased; it is best explained on the hypothesis that there was a gloss in the margin of the common source of B and F, which the copyist of B incorporated in the text, and which the copyist of F failed to notice at first.

We must therefore conclude that B is not the ancestor of F. The evidence, to be sure, is very slight, but the resemblance between the two MSS is so close that a large number of striking differences is not to be looked for. Now if F is not a descendant of B, the possible relationships between them may be represented as follows:

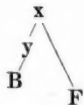


FIG. 1

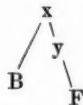


FIG. 2

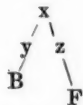


FIG. 3

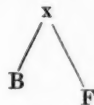


FIG. 4

Because of the close similarity of the two MSS it is quite out of the question to imagine any more complicated arrangement possible. We shall first examine evidence for and against Fig. 1, which assumes that F's immediate ancestor is more remote in the Plinian stemma than that of B.

There are many cases where B preserves a peculiarity of x (see Fig. 1), while in F a correction has been made. So in 120. 19, *mea suscepisse* B F (corr. first hand from *me usu cepisse*, B), it is possible, of course, that both y and B preserve the true reading, *me usu cepisse*, and a correction already made in x, while F copied merely the correction. In 84. 25, B reads *a enim aduertienim* (*a enim* corr. by second hand); F has *aduerti enim*. The reading of F is better, but it is likely that B preserves something from x which F has lost; if Fig. 1 be accepted, this must have been preserved in both B and y. Again in 126. 2 F has *ibi*, and B, *sed ubi* (line under *sed* and perhaps under first stroke of *u*). Again B has apparently preserved the text of x, correction and all; F has made the indicated correction. Likewise in 100. 2, B has *a casto puroque corpore*; F reads *a casto corpore puroque*. Here B seems to preserve dots that occurred in the archetype, and F interpreted them to call for a change of word-order. In 91. 21 B has *hominem neromanū*; F reads the same, but corrected by the addition of a vinculum to read *hominemne romanum*. B again is nearer the text of x. In 10. 19 B

.men

reads *certāndum habent*; F, *certam̄ ndū habent*. *Certandum habent* is the correct text, and evidently this, incorrectly glossed, was the reading of x. It must be granted that B keeps the text of x, corrections and all, more faithfully than F.

None of the instances cited above, taken by itself, definitely shows that y (Fig. 1) did not exist; but taken collectively, they make it very improbable that it did; for otherwise it is necessary to suppose that both y and B perpetuated the same peculiar and often illogical reading. The fact that B is certainly two hundred years older than F likewise makes Fig. 1 very improbable. There are, to be sure, certain readings that seem to favor the scheme, but they are explicable otherwise. For example, 106. 16, *omī ope omī labore omī grā*, F; *omni ope omni labore gratia*, B a; *omni ope labore*

gratia, M V. Pliny undoubtedly wrote the words as they appear in F, and at first sight it seems that F preserves the earlier text. But the agreement of Aldus with B is significant, for Aldus' Parisinus was undoubtedly akin to B and F, and being a ten-book MS, as he tells us, was from a source older than the mutilated MS which was the source of both B and F. Aldus undoubtedly followed his MS in this passage, for he would not have retained a poorer text without MS authority, when he could have borrowed the reading of F from the early copies or editions; he did not use B. The mutilated ancestor of B and F, then, read as Aldus does, and the reading of F is only a simple and necessary emendation, natural enough to anyone familiar with Pliny's style.

If Fig. 1 be rejected it follows logically that Fig. 3 is just as untenable. The same passages may be quoted, with the following additions:

35. 5: *lectioinsubitis*, B (corr. from *subditis* in first hand) *lectio in sub/itis* (erasure of *d*), F.

85. 3: *letioris*, B F; 11. 4: *desidioso* (apparently corrected by second hand to *desidiose*), B; *desidioso* corr. to *desidiose*, or vice versa, F.

In 85. 3 both B and F have preserved a digraph, rare in both MSS, and in 11. 4 and 35. 5 the archetype of each seems to have been similarly corrected. Only by the barest coincidence could these peculiarities have been preserved in both lines of Fig. 3.

It is therefore probable that either Fig. 2 or Fig. 4 represents the true situation. In either case the relationship is so close that it is a delicate matter to come to a decision as to which figure represents the truth.

The chief argument in favor of assuming a step between F and x (that is, in favor of Fig. 2) is drawn from the number of emendations in F, the character of which has been indicated above. It may be argued that these are too many to be the work of a single copyist, who was not professedly editing the text. Moreover, some of these emendations are incorporated in the text—e.g., see the interpolation of *inquiens*, 7. 22, in F, where B reads *parce* (om. *inquiens*) *cui ego*, as though the parent MS had presented the same appearance, although we know that x, as the parent of B, could not have read thus. F also contains interpolations above the line. But after all, is it

unlikely that these interpolations are the work of the scribe of F? In one case at least I am convinced that such an addition can be certainly ascribed to him. From this it would appear that the scribe of F had a taste for such correction, and it is easier to postulate that one man of such tastes revised the MS than to assume that there were two or more revisions of the same character. There is absolutely no evidence, moreover, that necessitates the supposition of an intervening step y, and, on the contrary, all the facts can be reconciled to the theory that B and F are sister MSS. The latter theory becomes all the more probable when we bear in mind that we know absolutely nothing of the history of the parent of B, after the copying of B, and that successive owners may very well have inserted many of the above-mentioned interpolations. Furthermore, there is no evidence from the "eight-book" MSS—which were affected by the B F tradition—for the intermediate step. Let us now examine the evidence.

In the address of iv. 29 F reads *Romano*, but in the margin the rubricator's guide read *romatio firmo*, while at the top of the page the first hand wrote *Plinius Romano suo Firmo sat*. Now *Romano* seems to have been the reading of the B F family in general in this place; it is found in a, and B has *Romanio*, clearly a corruption of the same reading; but in the indices of B, and there alone, *ad romat. firmum* is read. In the following paper I have shown from this and similar passages that F had access to indices like those of B but not those of B itself (for F is not the descendant of B). In this instance the copyist of F, after deciding to emend in accordance with the reading of the indices, changed his mind, and wrote at the top of the page the text which he finally favored, although the rubricator wrote *Romano*, not *Romano Firmo*. Now if all this were not due to the copyist of F himself, it is extremely likely that the note at the top of the page would not appear, but that one reading or the other would be given without comment, or with comment in such form that we might be sure that both readings appeared in the text which the scribe was copying. The instance is surely enough to show that the scribe of F was capable of such emendation as we have been discussing, and that probably many of the emendations noticed are due to him.

On the negative side, the evidence is drawn from the relations between F and the "eight-book" MSS.¹ It is evident that in certain places this tradition has suffered correction from a MS very like B and F. They are not copies of either, for there are traces in them of an independent tradition earlier than B or F. For example, iv. 26, which is omitted in B and F, is found complete in o and u and is without doubt not an interpolation from any other family, as a few readings from this letter will show:

114. 7: *recognoscendos emendandosque oua*; *legendos recognoscendos*, MV.

114. 8: *suscipere libentius, oua*; *libentius suscipere*, MV.

114. 15: *istis (istos, M) addere uelis, MVa*; *uelis istis addere, ou*.

The last is particularly noteworthy. The following cases are likewise significant, though not conclusive:

129. 17: *gracili marmore continetur*, om. F, add. Mou.

111. 21: *catullo*, om. BF, add. Mou.

111. 23: *quo*, om. BFa, add. Mou.

68. 7: *potuisse se*, om. BF, add. MVoua.

Finally, these differences of reading indicate at least independence of B and F on the part of o u:

ii. 15 (title): *ualeriano*, MVouD; *ualerio*, BF.

ii. 16 (title): *anniano* MVDu; *aniano*, o; *annio*, BF.

112. 16: *imperare*, BF; *impertire*, Voa; *impartire*, u; *impetire*, M.

119. 10: *equites romanos splendidos*, BFa; *splendidos equites romanos*, Mou.

Since the "eight-book" MSS display evidences of independent tradition, we may next ask to what MS we shall ascribe the BF influence. It may be stated at once that neither B nor a descendant of B is responsible, but that o and u bear a much greater resemblance to F. Were they affected, then, by F itself, or by an ancestor, or by a descendant of F? The text gives evidence as to this:

6. 21: *cum meis*, Ba; *cum eis*, Fou.

7. 22: *parce. cui ego*, BMVa; *parce inquires. cui ego*, Fou.

In both these places F has the wrong reading, in the second instance by reason of interpolation. The readings of Fou in each case could not have existed in x, at least at the time when B was copied, but

¹ Codex Urbinas lat. 1153 (u) and Ottobonianus lat. 1965 (o) are selected as representatives of this class. See Merrill *Selected Letters*, Introduction.

they and many others like them¹ must have arisen either in F itself or between x and F. o and u then must have been influenced by F itself, by an ancestor of F less remote than x, or by a descendant of F. Fortunately this question can be satisfactorily answered.

The address of iii. 18 reads as follows: *seruo*, Ba (context); *aduirium seuerum*, B (index); *curio seuro*, F in context, but in margin, *uirio seuro*; *curio seuro*, ou; *seuro*, M V. The marginal reading of F was inserted as a rubricator's guide, and at the present time can easily be mistaken, as the rubricator did in fact mistake it, for *curio seuro*. This error was made in F and did not exist in the ancestors of F: therefore o and u must take *curio seuro* from F itself or from a descendant of F, and not from an ancestor of F. Exactly similar is iv. 28, where the title reads *seuro*, B (context); *aduibium seuerum*, B (index); *iubio seuro*, F in context, but in margin, *uibio seuro*; *iulio seuro*, u; *iunio seuro*, o. The readings of o and u are not identical with the erroneous *iubio* of F, but they must be corruptions or corrections of *iubio* rather than of the true reading.

Certain additional facts, however, demand explanation. For instance, the heading of iv. 24 is *fabio* F; *uamenti* B (context), M V; *fabio uamenti*, ou; *adfabium ualent*, B (index), and it seems that o and u drew from a source older than F. This, however, cannot be true. With but few exceptions the MSS give the cognomen in addresses, when but a single name is used; but in certain cases and under certain circumstances the nomen is given—as here in F. Now the "eight-book" MSS in their own proper tradition apparently had few double names used in addresses, but took most of them from the BF family, and in iv. 24 it is altogether probable that the unadulterated "eight-book" text would have *uamenti*, reading the cognomen like the other MSS. The scribe has simply combined his own reading *uamenti* with *fabio*, which he found in F or in a descendant of F. There is, therefore, apparently nothing in the relations between F and the "eight-book" MSS that makes necessary the intervening step y.

¹E.g., 8. 1: *nondum ab*, Ba; *nondum enim ab*, Fou (*enim* above line in first hand, F); 8. 16: *haesitabundus*, BMV; *haesitabundus inquit*, Fou; 8. 25: *fortius amore*, BMVa; *amore fortius*, Fou.

The most reasonable conclusion, then, seems to me to be that B and F are sister MSS. Their scribes were puzzled by the same passages, where the appearance of their archetypes would seem to have been identical;¹ their lacunae agree; all apparent discrepancies are explicable; and in their text the two MSS agree to an astonishing extent. Besides this, there is no good evidence for any other state of affairs. Therefore, although it may be admitted that Fig. 2 is a possible explanation of their relationship, I am inclined to favor the simpler relationship indicated in Fig. 4.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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¹ See, e.g., 120. 19, 100. 2, 91. 21, 10. 19, 85. 3, 35. 5, 11. 4, 102. 5, all cited above.

TABLES OF CONTENTS IN THE MSS OF PLINY'S LETTERS

BY FRANK EGLESTON ROBBINS

Since the article by Stangl in *Philologus* (XLV), little attention has been paid to the indices of codex Beluacensis, a unique characteristic of this codex among the Plinian MSS. The following notes have been made as the result of a study of these indices, in the effort to supplement Stangl's work, and to gain an idea of the significance of the indices in the Plinian text-history. A complete text¹ of the indices of B follows:²

C · PLINI SECUN DI | EPISTULARUMLIBRINU | MERO DE-
CEM;; | INCIP LIĒ · I · FELICITER; | (*thus far in large capitals of faded red*) adsecundum adarrianum | adcaniniumrufum · adpompeia · aduoconium · adcornelium tacitum—| adoctauum rufum · adpompeium · adminucium · adatticum · adfautiustū —| adcelest · ium tironem · adossium · adiunium (n over a blur or blot) | adsepticium · aderucium · adcornelium · | adsuetonium · adromatium · adcornelium · | adplinium · adca · lium · adpompeium · adbaebium ¶ · (by 2d h. over erasure of similar mark) Frequenter quia tardiore · | quid agit, (*comma apparently by 2d h.*) quantum copiarū · uidisti · ridebis · | uide // (*erasure of two letters, possibly -bo*) inquo · peroportune · mirumest · | siquando olim mihi · iacturam · magnū | petis · heus tum · amabam · estadhuccure · | scribis te · municeps (-ps by 2d h. over erasure) freques · utanimiui · | diuidiam · consulis · tranquillus · | (*Thus far in smaller capitals, with here and there an uncial form; some of the initials are in red.*)

[Book II] Ad romanum post aliquot annos IN | Ad paulinu irascor nec liqu& michi || (*there are two addresses and first lines to the line, separated by an irregular dividing line, thus making two columns of the whole; the writing is minuscule.*) Adnepotem · magnis aeuum fama · | Ad galuinā sipluribus pat tuus || Ad lupeū actionem · a&atefre-

¹For this text I am indebted to Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of the University of Chicago. For the description of Beluacensis (sometimes called Riccardianus) see Stangl *loc. cit.*; L. Havet *Revue Critique* XVI; E. Chatelain *Paléographie des classiques latins*, Pt. 2, text to Pl. CXLIII; C. Paoli *I codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze* I. 53 f.

²The division by lines in the index of Book I, and the rudely effected division into double columns in the index of Book II, are indicated in the print. In the indices of Books III-V the columnizing is neatly carried out in the MS.

quent · | Adaitū · (au- *over eras*.) longū ē altius rep& || Ad magnū ·
 nereasenatuesticio · | Ad caninium studes anpiscorisā || Ad apollinare ·
 anxiūm&inqu& · | Ad octauium · hominemtepatient || Adarianū ·
 ΔΙΗΟΥΠΤΙΟΝ illud qđ | Ad pri·cu & (*over eras, apparently of -m*) tuoc-
 casionesoblig— || Ad maximū · uerūopinaris · | Adualerium quomo-
 doteu&eres || Ad annum · tuquidem p&era · | Adgallūmirariscurme-
 laurent || Ad marcium · quid attemihi | Iucundius || Adeerialē · horta-
 risurationem · | Ad caluisium · assempara&accipe ||

[Book III]

Adcaluisiumrufum ·	Nescio anullum
Aduibium maximum ·	Quodipse amicistuis ·
Adcaerelliae hispullae ·	Cumpatremtuum ·
Adcaeciliummacrinū ·	Quamuis&amici ·
Adbaebiummacrum ·	Pergratumest michi
Adanniumseuerum	Exhereditate quae
Adcaniniumrufum ·	Modonuntiatusest
Adsu&on tranqui ·	Facisadprocetera
Adcorneliumminicianū ·	Possumiamperscrib (-i- <i>long like i</i>)
Aduestric (<i>erasure of -iū</i>) spurinn ·	Composuissemequaed
Adiuliumgenitor ·	Estomninoartemidori
Adeatlinum seuer ·	Veniam ad&enam
Aduoconiumromanū ·	Librum quonuper
Adpatilium	Rematrocem
Adsiliumprocul ·	Petisutlibellostuos
Adnepotem ·	Adnotasseuideorfacta
Adiulium seruian ·	Recte omnia [dictaq
Aduirium seuerum ·	Officiumconsulatus
Adcaluisium rufum ·	Adsumoteinconsiliū
Admaesiummaximum ·	Meministinete
Adcornelium priscum ·	^{u (tot h.)} Adio ualeriūmartial

[Book IV]

i Adfabium · prosoc	upispostlongum ·
ii Adattium · clemen ·	regulus filium
iii Adadrianum · antoNIN	quodsimulatq · iterum
iiii Adsosium · senec	uarisidium(<i>corr. fr. -uum</i>)nepotem ·
v Adiuliumsparsum	aeschinen aiunt
vi Adiulium nason ·	tuscigrandine excussi
vii Adcatium · lepidum	saepetibidico
viii Admatur · arrian	gratularismichi
viii Adcornel · ursum ·	causamperhodie
x Adstadium · sabinum	scribismichisabinum
xi Adcornel · minic	audistineualminic
xii Amatur · arrian ·	amasegnatiummarcum

xiii Adcornelium tacitum	saluuminurbeuens
xiiii Add · paternum ·	tufortasse
xv Adminic · fundan	siquidomnino
xvi Adualerium · paulinum	gaudemeo
xvii Adclusinium · gallum	& admones & rogas
xviii Adarr · antoninum	quemadmodummag
xviiii AdcalpurN' hispull'	cumsitpi&atis ·
xx Adnouium · maximum	quidsenserim
xxi Aduelium cerialem ·	tristem&acerbum
xxii Adsempron · rufum	inter fuiprincipis
xxiii Adpompon · bassum	magnamecepiuoluptat
xxiiii Adfabium valent	proxime cumapud
xxv Admaesium maximum ·	scripseramtibi
xxvi Admęcil · Nepotem	petisutlibellos
xxvii Adpompei · falconem	tertius dies est
xxviii Aduibium seuerum ·	herenniiseuerus
xxviiii Adromat · firmum ·	heatu proxime
xxx Adlicinium suram ·	attulit tibi ·

[Book V]

Adanniumseuerum ·	legatummichiobuenit
AdcalpurN' flaccum ·	accepulcherrimos
Adtitium ariston ·	cumplurimaofficia
Adiuliumualerianum ·	resparua
Adnouiummaximum ·	nuntiaturmichi
Addomit · apollinar ·	amauicuram
Adcalpurnium rufum ·	necheredeminstitui hīc adfi · (<i>much</i> <i>later hand</i>)
Adtitinium caepionem ·	suades uthistoriam
Adsemproniumrufum ·	descenderaminbasilicam
Adsueton · tranquillum ·	///////// (<i>erasure</i>) liberatandem
Adcalpurn · fabat · pros	praecepilitterastuas (-cepi <i>corr. by</i> <i>2d hand from -cipi</i>)
Adscaurum · recitaturus	oratunculam
Adterentium scaurum	& turogas
Adpontium · allifan' ·	secesseram inimmunē · (<i>corr. by 2d</i> <i>hand from secesserim</i>)
Adarrium antonin'	cum uersus tuos
Adaefulanmarcellinum ·	tristissimus haectibi
Aduestic spurinna	scio (<i>started as sco-</i>) quantoopere
AdcalpurN' macrum	beneest michi
Adualerium paulinum ·	uideo quam molliter
Adcornelium ursum ·	iterum bythini
Adpompeium · saturN ·	uariaeadfecerunt

Stangl concluded that the indices of B were not compiled from that MS itself, but from an earlier MS of the same family. The evidence for this is obvious. In certain cases (as in i. 1, ii. 15, ii. 16, and v. 5), the index and the context of B agree in readings not given in M and V; and on the other hand, some of the readings of the indices give evidence of greater antiquity than the context.¹ It may also be noticed, first, that while in the first two books the indices are irregularly arranged, in the later books they become better systematized; second, that their transmission has been notably careless; and third, that to all appearances they were for some time transmitted in the form of indices—a point made by Stangl.

The first point is obvious. Not only were the tables for books i and ii in irregular form, but, especially in book i, the addresses and first lines are much less full than in the succeeding books. The second point is hardly less plain; to carelessness must be referred cases of merely orthographical error (see, for example, the address of i. 13), and the more aggravated cases, such as the addresses of i. 11, 12, 22, and iii. 3, and the first lines of i. 22, ii. 3, 7, iv. 28, 30. Certain of the variants which have a direct bearing on the text-history will be discussed later. The very frequency of careless mistakes in the indices goes far to corroborate the third point mentioned above, namely, that the indices were independently copied for some time; for there is a greater chance for error in copying a list of unconnected words and phrases than in the transmission of a running text.

Further corroboration of the third point is drawn from the omission of ii. 11 from the table of contents for book ii. The eleventh and twelfth letters are addressed both to the same person, and a copyist, working from a table of contents, not referring to the full MS, could easily copy the address of letter 11, and skip to the first line of 12 without noticing his omission.

Some of the mistakes of the indices may be accounted for on the

¹The best evidence is the inclusion of the address and first line of iv. 26 in the index, though missing entirely from the context; cf. likewise the numerous instances where double names occur in the indices and single ones in the context; the first line of iv. 18, where B and F in their context omit *magis*, which occurs in the index; also the difference of word-order in the first line of ii. 18 (the index has *mihi iucundius*, and the context *iucundius mihi*).

hypothesis that in their original compilation, or at least very early, many of the proper names were written in abbreviated form, and that these were later incorrectly filled out by copyists. For example, i. 10 in the index reads *adatticum*. It should be *ad Attium*, of course; but if the copyist had had before him an abbreviated form (e.g., *ad Atti.*) it would be a very natural mistake to supply the well-known form *Atticum*.¹ This supposition is supported by the fact that many of the names in the tables of contents actually stand in abbreviated form. Words other than proper names are also frequently abbreviated, but because they stand at the end of the several citations of first lines.

Let us now turn to the question with which this paper is chiefly concerned—the distribution of double names in the addresses in the chief Pliny MSS as compared with that in the indices of B. Even in Kortte's edition many double names were given on the sole authority of the index of B, and this in fact is the most fruitful source for such addresses. On the other hand, the Medicean and the Vatican MSS are practically without double names in the addresses. The practice of these MSS is to give the cognomina (sometimes the nomina). None of the MSS seem to have transmitted praenomina.² The general facts concerning the distribution of double names in the addresses are presented in the following table, covering the chief MSS and Aldus:³

	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI	Book VII	Book VIII	Book IX	Totals
B, index.....	5	0	19	28	19	..	..	..	..	71
B, context.....	20	0	0	0	0	..	..	..	..	20
F, including margin....	20	0	11	13	5	..	..	..	..	49
a.....	20	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	29
M.....	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
V.....	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	..	3
o.....	18	0	10	9	0	0	0	0	0	35
u.....	18	0	11	8	0	0	0	0	0	37
Number of letters in each book.....	24	20	21	30	21	34	33	24	40	247

¹ See also i. 12, iii. 12, iv. 1, 12.

² For this reason we must reject Stangl's conjecture that *Patilium* (cf. the index, iii. 14) is a corruption for *P. Atilium*.

³ In this table account is taken only of genuine double names, not of forms like *Fabatus prosocer*.

Two general observations may be made. First, in book i the context of B, F, and a agree exactly in reporting double names in the addresses. Secondly, book ii seems either to have lost all its double names in the addresses early, or never to have had them. The only double name in this book is *Paulino Nepoti* (read by M V in the second letter); but this is without doubt due to a confusion, for the third letter is addressed *Nepoti*. The early editors introduced double names in this and three other addresses in book ii. In ii. 2 Laetus and Beroaldus followed V, which the former was the first to use; but Catanaeus emended to *Valerio Paulino*, evidently drawing this from iv. 16. The other instances in these three editors are *Voconio Romano*, ii. 1; *Caninio Rufo*, ii. 8; *Cornelio Prisco*, ii. 13. These are all well-known correspondents of Pliny, and their full names occur in the "eight-book" MSS in i. 5, i. 3, and iii. 21 respectively, whence the editors easily could, and doubtless did, take them.

The question now arises, was the B F family originally supplied with double names in the addresses throughout the letters? It may be seen from the table that in book i, where the index has single names, B (context), F, and a agree in reporting double ones, and that all alike have none in book ii; moreover in books iii-v the indices and F have double names, but B (context) and a have not. It has already been remarked that, when the MSS give single names, they regularly give cognomina. Now in book i the index reports five of the twenty double names found in the addresses of the context of B, in F, and in a, but in every other of the fifteen instances where it fails so to report, the nomen is given. I take this as a plain indication that the exemplar from which the indices were originally compiled had double names in at least these 20 letters of book i, and that the scribe failed to copy them; for if there had been single names only in the exemplar, it is likely that most of these would have been cognomina.¹ The indices of the first two books are more careless in their arrangement than those of the later books, and give evidence that the copyist had not yet settled upon a regular form; it may well be that when he copied the index of book i he had not yet decided to copy double names. Of course the same may

¹ It will be seen that the scribe of F, under similar circumstances, did precisely the same thing; see below (p. 484).

have been true in the second book, and double names may have existed in the archetype of the indices; but the agreement between all the MSS is so close that the safer conclusion is that they had entirely disappeared from this book before the indices were compiled. In books iii-v the indices are quite fully supplied with double names. The MS from which they were compiled, therefore, had double names in these books, and the natural inference is that it had double names in the addresses of books vi-ix as well (for it is probable that this MS was not mutilated, as B and F are). Double names, then, existed in the addresses in the early Plinian MSS; they have disappeared almost entirely in the M V family, and probably in the "eight-book" family as well,¹ but were kept longer in the B F family, and particularly in the indices which went with the MSS of that family, and which formed, as Stangl pointed out, a practically independent tradition.

Another question to be answered is, did indices, like the indices of B, exist in other MSS? I am convinced that they did, but only in the B F family. I can find absolutely no evidence for their existence in M, V, or in the "eight-book" tradition.² In F, however, there are traces of the influence of indices, which in two or three places are quite convincing. For the purposes of this paper it may be assumed without argument that B and F are closely akin, both descendants of a mutilated MS extending through v. 6, omitting iv. 26, and that Aldus' Paris manuscript was of the same family, but of an earlier branch, which left the main stem before the mutilation seen in B and F took place. Now, in iii. 18, B (context) and a read

¹ In iii. 18 both o and u read *curio seuero* in the address. Now this is an erroneous reading and can definitely be traced to the rubricator who worked upon F itself; see above (p. 474). This is certain evidence of the influence of F. Besides this, there are the suspicious facts that no double names occur in the addresses in o and u which do not occur in F also, and that all the double names in addresses are confined to the first four books. Hence it is quite likely that the double names in the addresses in the "eight-book" MSS are derived from F or its descendants.

² Since this article was sent to the printer Professor Merrill has informed me that in St. Mark's Library at Venice Lat. class. xi cod. xxxvii (chart. saec. xv) contains, beginning on f. 94, the *Brevis Adnotatio de Duobus Pliniis*, then, in columnar form, an index of the addresses of Plin. Ep. i (omitting, as in cod. Dresdensis D 166, letters 8, 12, 23, 24, and giving the nomina), followed by the text of Book i, and that by a similar index to Book ii, beyond which the copy of Pliny was never carried. The text of Book i is that of Dresdensis, and the index appears to have been made from the immediate archetype of the fragmentary copy.

Seruo, the index of B reads *aduirium seuerum*, and F has *curio seuro*, which is the mistake of the rubricator who inserted the addresses; for in the margin the note left for his guidance reads *uirio seuro*, and is still legible. This error therefore occurred in F itself. Without a doubt Aldus' Parisinus read *Seruo* here, for this reading occurs in no known edition or MS available to him (he did not know B), and it is moreover a most unlikely emendation for *seuro*, which Aldus must have seen in the earlier editions, or in the copies of F, and in the "eight-book" MSS current in Italy in his day. *Seruo*, therefore, was indubitably the reading of the common ancestor of B and Parisinus, and therefore likewise of the common ancestor of F and B. We must therefore conclude, in the absence of any other possible source, that F took *uirio seuro* from indices like those of B. If we assume what seems likely, that F is not a copy of B (the evidence for this will be found in the preceding paper), this means that in the immediate archetype of F, as well as in that of B, there existed such tables of contents, all drawn from the same compilation. In iv. 29, F's margin bears *romatio firmo* (agreeing with the index of B, *q.v.*), but the letter is actually addressed in the context *Romano*, and at the top of the page in the side margin, in the first hand, we find *Plinius Romano suo Firmo Sat.* Probably the marginal note came from the index, but *Romano* from the context, of F's parent (for the context of B reads *Romano*). If the additions and substitutions from the indices had already been made in the parent of F, we should hardly expect to find such a note as this, but one reading or the other would be given without comment. On the other hand, the presence of this note is very natural, if the copyist of F was working with constant reference to the indices, and in this instance changed his mind as to the form to be used for the address of the letter. I think, therefore, that the scribe of F has interpolated many double names into the addresses in F from indices which he found in his immediate archetype.

The theory that F was interpolated from a set of indices is almost necessary to explain why F, which in general is not so faithful a copy of its immediate archetype as B seems to be, should be so much better furnished with double names in its addresses than the context of B; and likewise to explain why F is so startlingly like

the index of B in these double names. The following collation, kindly furnished me by Professor Merrill, shows marginal notes in F which make this similarity all the more striking:

iv. 17: | sinio ga . . . , F *in margin*; address omitted in context.
 iv. 24: fabio | ualenti, F *in margin*; Fabio, F *context*. iv. 25: mesio
 ma | ximo, F *in margin*; Mesiono Mimo, F *context*. iv. 27: pōpeio f . . |
 coni, F *in margin*; Pompeio, F *context*. iv. 29: romatio | firmo, F *in*
margin, but in side margin, top of page, in first hand, Plinius Romano
 suo | firmo sal; Romano, F *context*. iv. 30: licinio | sure, F *in margin*;
 Licinio, F *context*. v. 1: annio | . . . ero, F *in margin*; Annio, F *con-*
text; v. 2: calpu . . | nio flaco, F *in margin*; Calpurnio, F *context*.
 v. 3: titio | aristoni, F *in margin*; Titioni, F *context*. v. 4: iulio | uale-
 riano, F *in margin*; Iulio, F *context*. v. 5: nouio | maximo, F *in mar-*
gin; address omitted in context.

These notes are the remnants of the guides left by the copyist for the benefit of the rubricator who inserted the addresses. The margins were afterward clipped, but the notes aside from this curtailment remain perfectly legible. In each of the above cases the marginal note is in substantial agreement with the indices; the rubricator, however, failed to copy the whole title furnished him, but inserted in the context only single names,¹ and, moreover, the nomina. In each of the above places the addresses in the context of B have the cognomen, which as has been pointed out is the regular practice of the Plinian MSS.

Inasmuch as it is possible to check certain interpolations of addresses from the indices into F, as has been shown above, probably the readings from F just cited, and in fact most of the double names in the addresses of F after book i, are similarly interpolated. It is at any rate likely that the original extent of double names in the addresses of the context of both B and F was the same, and it is in keeping with the general character of the copying of F that there should be interpolation and emendation. The extent of double names in the addresses of the parent MS of F, then, was probably about the same as that in the context of B.

If the immediate ancestors of F were supplied with indices, can the same assertion be made of Parisinus? The question is a more elusive

¹The scribe of the indices of B also gives many nomina, as single names in the index of Book i. This is, I think, a case exactly paralleled by the one under discussion. The scribe of the indices had full names before him, but copied only single ones.

one, inasmuch as we can judge of Parisinus in this respect only through Aldus. After book iv, Aldus did not print any double names whatever in the addresses, although he might easily have supplied a considerable number by conjecture, as some of the other editors did. Furthermore, every double name which he prints in the first four books is found either in F, the copies of F, the early editions, or the "eight-book" MSS. It is hardly likely that the ten-book MS Parisinus contained double names in precisely those portions of the letters covered by B and F, and by a strange coincidence had lost every vestige of them in the addresses of the other books; and if he had had them in his MS, Aldus undoubtedly would have printed at least some of them. I believe, therefore, that the double names in the addresses of Aldus were printed by him on the authority, not of Parisinus, but of some of the MSS of the "eight-book" type, of the early editions, or of copies of F which were current in Italy in his day; that Parisinus had no indices;¹ and that double names had fallen out of the addresses in the context of Parisinus to a great extent, that is, that no more survived in Parisinus than in the context of B.

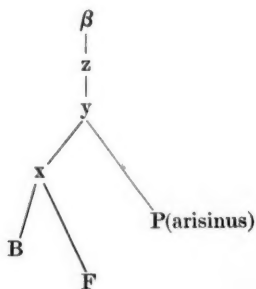
None of the known MSS give double names in the addresses beyond the fifth book. In the early editions (those of Laetus, Beroaldus, and Catanaeus) are found the following:

vi. 15: Voconio Romano, *Laet. Ber. Cat.*; vi. 21: Caninio Rufo, *Laet. Ber. Cat.* (so also in vii. 18, ix. 33, and viii. 4, with orthographical variations); vii. 2: Fabio Iusto, *Laet. Ber. Cat.*; vii. 3: Crescenio Praesenti, *Laet. Ber.*; vii. 9: Cornelio Fusco, *Laet. Ber. Cat.*; vii. 17: Nonio Celeri, *Laet. Ber. Cat.*; vi. 23: Triario Traiano *Laet., Ber.* 1498 (but in edition of 1501, Triatio); vi. 34: Maximo Aphricano, *Laet. Ber.* Triario Traiano is probably a combination of two "eight-book" readings for the same name. Caninius Rufus, Voconius Romanus, and Fabius Iustus are addressed in i. 3, 5, and 11 respectively, and the double names here are clearly brought into the text from the previous letters. Nonio Celeri could have been taken from vi. 32. 1, where his full name is given. Cornelius

¹ Additional (negative) evidence for this lies in the fact that Aldus in his preface does not describe Parisinus as having indices. There is an index in Aldus' edition of the letters, but it is a mere compilation from the text, and furnishes no evidence.

Fuscus and Crescenius Praesens are not spoken of elsewhere in Pliny, but the former is a character well known to authors contemporary with Pliny, and the full name here is undoubtedly a conjecture of Laetus. Crescenio Praesenti must have been introduced by Laetus, but on what grounds I cannot at present state. He is otherwise unknown. In a copy of the Treviso edition of 1483, once owned by Laetus and annotated by his own hand, now the property of Professor E. T. Merrill, Crescennio is noted, undoubtedly in Laetus' own hand, for insertion before Praesenti, but Crescenio was printed by Laetus in 1490, and adopted by Beroaldus in both editions. Aphricano (vi. 34) is evidently taken, mistakenly, from Africanæ (vi. 34. 3).

The facts set down above may help in the reconstruction of the *stemma* of the B F family. The three readings cited (ii. 18, iii. 18, iv. 29) show that the compilation of the indices took place before the erroneous readings of B and Parisinus came into the text. The *stemma*, then, is somewhat as follows:



Here β represents the earliest Plinian MS of the B F P type, and z the MS from which the indices were compiled. This z was earlier than y, the latest common ancestor of B, F, and P. Aldus tells us that P contained ten books;¹ both y and z then may be assumed to be of that extent. Between y and x, however, the mutilation seen in B and F took place. Both y and x probably contained sets of indices, but between y and P they seem to have been lost. Double

¹ His statement is confirmed by the discovery of Budaeus' notes taken from Parisinus, in a copy of the letters in the Bodleian Library; see an article by E. T. Merrill in *Classical Philology*, II (1907).

names must have existed in the addresses in the B F branch as far back as z; but after that they dropped out to a great extent, so that B, F, and P, in their context, had them only sporadically, or, like B, only in book i. One is tempted to imagine that the lack of double names in the index of book i led to their preservation in the context of B, and that, conversely, the completeness of the indices in reporting double names in books iii-v caused their disappearance from the addresses in the context of those books. It seems probable that z had double names in the addresses in the context of books vi-ix, as well, and that the indices of those books were compiled in the fashion finally adopted in books iii-v, giving the full form of address in each case. There is no reason to suppose that the original form of the indices was very much different from that now seen in B, except that if they had originally been prefixed in a body to the whole work, and were not distributed before the appropriate books until later, this may explain why the indices were lost in P and elsewhere. But they merely have been disregarded, wherever they occurred.

Stangl's conjecture of the eighth century as the date of our hypothetical z will fit as well as any other. B is of the ninth or tenth century, and despite Aldus' belief in the great antiquity of P, it is not necessary to suppose that that MS was much, if any, older than B. After the copying of z, however, the text of the B F family, which had previously been in closer agreement with the M V tradition, underwent certain changes, including variation of word-order (cf. index and context of B in the first line of ii. 18), the loss of certain words (cf., e.g., iv. 18), and corruptions (cf., e.g., iv. 4, iii. 18, iv. 29).

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ON A USE OF ΔΟΚΩ

By A. T. MURRAY

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the rather scanty evidence for *δοκῶ* in the sense of "*think right*," which, however, seems to be demanded in certain passages. I cite the following:

Soph. *Antig.* 1101: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπαινέεις, καὶ δοκεῖς παρειαθεῖν;

This line has puzzled commentators, and no unanimity has as yet been reached regarding its interpretation. In the Schneidewin-Nauck edition it is called "unverständlich" (Nauck has suggested *λέγεις* or *με λῆς* as a substitute for *δοκεῖς*). Musgrave, who is followed in the Wolff-Bellerman edition, connected the infin. *παρειαθεῖν* with *ἐπαινέεις*, and translated, "et haec suades concedere et censere?" or "Rätst du an und glaubst es auch (dasz ich es thun werde)?"

Wecklein follows Rauchenstein in reading *δοκεῖ*, and Jebb, apparently independently, has made the same change. Jebb defends the omission of the pronoun *σοι* by *Ph.* 526 and 645 and by Aesch. *Theb.* 650: σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γινώθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ, where the inferior MSS have *δοκεῖς* (which would make that line very similar to the one under consideration). Jebb assumes that the copyists felt that the use of the impers. *δοκεῖ* without a dat. was strange, and hence changed the form of the verb. He continues, "The decisive objection to *δοκεῖς* here is that it could only mean, 'art thou minded to yield?' (Aesch. *Ag.* 16 ὅταν δ' αἰδέειν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ); not 'dost thou think it right that I should yield?'"

Kayser was apparently the first to give this interpretation (that *δοκεῖς* = *probas*), and it is accepted in the editions of Tournier-Desrousseaux and of Humphreys. The latter scholar is the only one, so far as I know, who defends this view at any length. He postulates that "just as *δοκεῖ* may mean either *it seems* or *it seems best*, so, there is reason to believe, *δοκῶ* may mean either *I think* or *I think (it) best* or *proper*." In support of this he cites *Ag.* 16 (see above) and *Ar. Nub.* 1415, which I shall presently discuss. To

Humphreys the only difficulty in the line before us is the omission of the subj. of the infin., although it is not the same as that of *δοκεῖς*. He explains this by assuming that Creon consults the Coryphaeus as his official adviser, so that there is no impropriety in his saying, "Dost thou think it best to yield?" He further calls attention to the fact that, even if we emend to *δοκεῖ*, the difficulty regarding the omitted pronoun remains; and finally concludes, "That another example should be found cannot be demanded, as the instances of *δοκῶ* in this sense are so rare."

It is to be noted that even on Jebb's assumption that the text of the line before us was changed from *δοκεῖ* to *δοκεῖς* by copyists—as was the text of Aesch. *Theb.* 650, cited above—it still remains true that the meaning thus given to *δοκῶ* seemed to the writers a natural one. At least the assumption of this meaning seemed to them easier than the omission of the pronoun with the impers. *δοκεῖ*. We shall see this fact even more strikingly illustrated in the passage next to be considered; and it is well, perhaps, to ask ourselves if the despised copyists may not after all have had a native instinct for the meanings and uses of words.

Jebb's objection that with the reading *δοκεῖς* the line can only mean "Art thou minded to yield?" has been fairly met by Humphreys. It surely does not strain the words to render, "Dost thou think it best to yield?" and we need not claim that *με* is omitted.

In Ar. *Nub.* 1415: *κλάουσι παῖδες, πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς*; parodied from Eur. *Alc.* 691: *χαίρεις ὀρώων φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς*, we are at once struck by the fact that while in the original passage *δοκεῖς* means merely "think," in the line of Ar. it must mean *think right*, or *proper*. The line simply makes no sense without this idea of fitness or obligation. Now, the line is a trimeter, occurring in the midst of a series of tetrameters—a fact expressly recognized and stated in the scholia. We have no exact parallel to this (although Cratinus 199K shows a similar sudden shift in meter); but the fact is at once explained and justified by the parody. It is not strange, however, that many suggestions have been made for filling out the line by adding the supposedly missing syllables. The inferior MSS add *τῇ δὴ* (the line is given as a trimeter in both R and V); Cobet suggested *σὺ χρῆναι*; Herwerden,

προσῆκιν; Schneider, *δικαίως*; Blaydes, *τι χρῆναι* (though he ejects the line altogether); while Hermann and Meineke mark a lacuna. Van Leeuwen accepts the reading of the inferior MSS, but adds, "Fortasse igitur interpolatoris hoc est lacunam de suo explentis. . . . mallem οὐ κλάειν δίκαιον ἤγει vel οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖ δίκαιον, si veri simile ducerem comicum tragici verba ita refinxisse."

Here we note that while the ancient interpolators were struck only by the metrical solecism and felt no difficulty about the meaning of *δοκεῖς*, the moderns all desiderate some word of fitness or obligation.

No one who has studied parody can for a moment regard van Leeuwen's suggested readings as worthy of consideration; but at the same time it may perhaps, though I think without justice, be claimed that the mere fact that the line is a parody robs it of any value as establishing the meaning postulated for *δοκῶ*—on the ground that, had it not been for the limitations imposed by the line he was parodying, Ar. would never have used *δοκεῖς* as he did.

Aesch. Ag. 1649: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνώση τάχα.

So all MSS, and the meaning is clear and appropriate—granting the use of *δοκῶ* which is under discussion—although Keek says of the traditional text, "Das ist allerding's unverständlich," and although various alterations have been suggested to make it possible to translate *δοκεῖς* "seem." It must surely be rendered "art minded."

Soph. O.R. 484: δεινὰ μὲν οὖν δεινὰ ταρασσει σοφὸς οἰωνοθέτας
οὔτε δοκοῦντ' οὔτ' ἀποφάσκονθ', ὅ, τι λῆξω δ' ἀπορῶ.

It will be seen at a glance that grammatically two constructions are possible for the participles: they may be acc. neut. pl. or acc. masc. sing. If the former, they agree with an inner, if the latter, with the outer object of *ταράσσει* (*με*, understood). The Schol. apparently chose the former alternative, for he gives as the meaning *οὔτε πιστὰ οὔτε ἄπιστα*. Similarly Triclinius gives as an interpretation of *ἀποφάσκοντα*, *ἀπόφασιν καὶ ἀπιστίαν δεχόμενα*.

Hermann, whose note is cited in Ebeling, has the following: "Cum aut credibilia atque incredibilia, aut affirmantia et negantia inter se opponi debuerint, ex utroque genere aliquid sumpsit, *δοκοῦντα*, quae crederentur, et *ἀποφάσκοντα* quae negarent." This,

I take it, he regarded as an instance of Sophocles' masterful subtlety in language. To me it would be merely a bit of slovenly writing.

The note in the Wunder-Wecklein edition reads the meaning of the German translation into the Greek: "Similiter nos possumus dicere, 'weder ansprechendes noch absprechendes,' i.e., neque probabilia neque improbabilia." Similarly Schmelzer renders, "An sich unglaublich, und doch auch wieder nicht durchaus zurückzuweisen." Both these last-mentioned renderings postulate for ἀποφάσκοντα in the neut. pl. a meaning it can only have if it be given a personal subj.—i.e., if in the present passage it be taken as acc. masc. sing.

Nauck, in his revision of Schneidewin's edition, gives the passage up as corrupt, "wie δοκεῖν und ἀποφάσκειν keinen richtigen Gegensatz bilden"; and the note in the Wolff-Bellermann edition is to the same effect, "Neque affirmantem neque negantem (Hermann-Nauck) können die Worte nicht bedeuten, da δοκῶ zwar heisst, *ich meine*, aber nicht, *ich finde glaublich*."

Blaydes, in his commentary, renders as neut. pl., and following the scholiast: "Things neither probable (as said to have been committed by Oedipus) nor improbable (as uttered by the seer)"; but at the same time he recognizes that this translation strains the Greek. δοκοῦντα (used absolutely) may well mean "things credible"; but ἀποφάσκοντα can by no possibility mean "things incredible." Blaydes therefore thinks of emending to ἀπαρέσκοντα. He adds, however, "But if ἀποφάσκοντα (i.e., denying; refusing to believe) be correct, we must, in order to produce harmony in the sense, render δοκοῦντα rather 'deeming probable' (from δοκῶ, not δοκεῖ) (Kayser, 'vates me conturbat neque probantem neque audentem negare'). But is δοκεῖν ever thus used?" (Earle meets this difficulty by rendering δοκοῦντα "believing.")

I cite Blaydes's note in full because it illustrates his tendency to emend rashly, and at the same time his sure instinct for the language.

The view last propounded (that δοκοῦντα = probantem) is, I think, plainly right. It is the only one that gives the passage a meaning, and it exactly suits the context. I would call attention to the fact that the following clause strongly supports the view that the two parties are acc. sing., agreeing with με understood.

This interpretation is given, virtually without comment, by Campbell, and also by Jebb. The latter defends it at some length. *δοκοῦντα*, he says, is not "believing," but "approving"; and he cites in support of this meaning the line from *Antigone*, which, however, he declares in his commentary on *Antigone* to be impossible Greek. He adds the very sane comment, "The pregnant force of *δοκοῦντα* is here brought out by the direct contrast with *ἀποφάσκοντα*. In gauging the rarer uses of words by an artist in language so subtle and so bold as Sophocles, we must never neglect the context."

Certain other passages suggest themselves as lending support to the view above set forth. In these *δοκῶ* is used personally but has generally the dat. pron. Aesch. *Ag.* 16 has already been referred to. The reading *δοκῶ* is accepted without question (Blaydes alone "emends") and the meaning "whenever I am minded to sing" seems to disturb no one. Yet that meaning stands nearer to "think best" than to "think"; and scholars have objected to other passages in which the traditional text admits or demands the same interpretation.

The "law" is regarded as established that *δοκῶ μοι* expressing intention may take only fut. infin. or aor. infin. with *ἄν* (see Mein. *Vind Ar.* 67; Sobolewski, *Synt.* 26; Cobet, *N.L.* 245), and is plainly stated in Starkie's note on *Vesp.* 250 (see the array of passages cited by Blaydes on *Acharn.* 994). Many passages which seem to offend against it have been emended, and rightly emended. Often the easy change from aor. to fut. or the insertion of *ἄν* suffices; and in some passages the substitution of a form of the impersonal *δοκεῖ* seems necessary.

I venture, however, to suggest that in some cases it may be worth considering whether the MSS reading should not be kept and defended on the ground that the phrase means, not "think I shall" or "think I could (should)," but merely "have a mind to"; in which sense neither fut. nor *ἄν* is needed. Naturally this is a matter of subjective opinion, and often the same passage makes good sense interpreted in either way. We need not claim that *Vesp.* 177, τὸν ὄνον ἐξάγειν δοκῶ, is correct, and should be rendered "I've a notion to bring out the donkey," for the easy emendation to ἐξάξειν

seems a real improvement; (so, too, in Plat. *Phaedr.* 230E); nor need we defend *Eq.* 1311 f.:

ἦν δ' ἀρέσκη ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίοις, καθήσθαι μοι δοκῶ
 εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον πλεούσας ἢ 'ς τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν,

for there the change to δοκεῖ seems well-grounded; but surely in *Av.* 671: ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὴν καὶ φιλήσαι μοι δοκῶ, the text as it stands, meaning, "I've a notion e'en to kiss her," is better than when changed to κἂν φιλήσαι or to καὶ φιλήσειν; and *Ar. Plut.* 1186 f. may be similarly interpreted.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AN EPIGRAM OF POSIDIPPUS

Happily forestalling the modern source-hunter, the "new" Callimachus (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* VII, No. 1011, vss. 75-77) concludes the story of Acontius and Cydippe by referring the version to Xenomedes of Ceos: εἶπε . . . | . . . ὁξύν ἔρωτα σέθεν | πρέσβυς ἐτητυμίη(ς) > μεμελημένος, ἔνθεν ὁ παιδὸς | μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέραν ἰδραμε Καλλιόπην. The last phrase brings to mind an epigram of Posidippus and confirms a text that used to puzzle earlier students of Athenaeus and of Greek epigram. I quote the text of Kaibel and his critical notes (Athen. 414 E):

Φυρόμαχον τὸν πάντα φαγεῖν βορόν, οἷα κορώνην
παννυχικὴν, αὐτῇ ῥωγὰς ἔχει κάπετος
χλαίνης ἐν τρύχει Πελληνίδος. ἀλλὰ σὺ τοῦτου
καὶ χρεῖ στήλην, Ἀττικὴ, καὶ στεφάνου,
5 εἴ ποτέ σοι προκύνων συνεκώμασεν. ἦλθε δ' ὁ μαυρὰ
βλέψας ἐκ πελίων νωδὸς ἐπισκυνίων,
ὁ τριχιδιφθερίας, μονολήκυθος· ἐκ γὰρ ἀγώνων
τῶν τότε ληναϊκὴν ἦλθ' ὑπὸ Καλλιόπην.

4. χρεῖα ἐσσηλην A. 5. εἰπόντες οἱ A: corr. Salmas. 7. ὁ τριχιδιφθερίας A: corr. Mein. (διφθερίας Toup); γὰρ fortasse corruptum. 8. fort. ληναῖην ut carmen intellegatur sepulcro inscriptum; nam ληνός i. q. σαρός.

Callimachus' phrase makes it no longer necessary to consider seriously Brunck's κοῖλον (*sic*) ὀπὴν or any other efforts to remove from the text Καλλιόπην. Without the phrase in Callimachus, Kaibel and Schott (*Posidippi Epigrammata*, Berlin, 1905) were wisely conservative in retaining the reading of the MSS. But Kaibel's suggestion that γὰρ is corrupt, and his cautious proposal of ληναῖην (accepted by Schott) for ληναϊκὴν show that the epigram is still in need of interpretation. Schott's commentary seems to me diffuse rather than exhaustive.

Φυρόμαχος may with special fitness be called a *nom de guerre* (cf. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 1. 37: καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμάχοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς; Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 284). It may equally well be a genuine name (Kirchner, *Prosopog. Attic.* 15052-58), but the description in vss. 5-6 and the ἀγῶνες of vs. 7, if not the χλαῖνα Πελληνίς of vs. 3, point to a pugilist; under these conditions it is likely that the name is fictitious. In Athen. 245 E, 343 B, he is mentioned under the same

name, and in the latter place is coupled with Corydus (cf. Athen. 240 F-241 E, 242 D), a parasite whose genuine name, Eucrates, is concealed almost as effectively as that of Phyromachus. The passage 343 B shows that both were objects of ridicule in verses of the comic poet Euphron. It is well known that parasites were frequently given such names to indicate individual traits (cf. Ribbeck *Kolax*, 70 ff., especially the names *Ῥινόμαχος* or *Ῥιγόμαχος*, Alciph. *Epist.* [*Parasit.*] iii. 65, *Ψιγόμαχος*, *ibid.* iii. 71).

As parasite rather than pugilist he is introduced in the opening verses. The bold epexegetical infinitive is perhaps wisely retained in the text. It is easy to suggest *παντοφάγον*, and to contend that the resulting homoeoteleuta are a virtue in this irrisory epigram. To be sure, *παντοφάγος* is registered only for A.P. viii. 213, the work of a late epigrammatist, but the parasite of Alciph. *Epist.* [*Parasit.*] iii. 6. 3 exclaims: *ἰὸν ἰὸν τῶν κακῶν οἷα ἐπομένειν ἡμᾶς ἀνακάζα ἢ παμφάγος αὕτη καὶ παμβορωάτη γαστήρ*. This omnivorous capacity is emphasized in the simile. Schott rightly states that crows seek their prey at night, but in failing to quote the Greek evidence he misses an essential point in the sequence of thought. In the first place, it is hardly correct to say of *παννυχικός*, as Schott does, "quod ad *παννυχίδα* pertinet." There can hardly be any direct connection in form or in meaning with *παννυχίς* in the sense of "night-revel." In form, *παννυχικός* stands beside *παννύχιος* very much as *θηβαικός* beside *θηβαῖος*; it illustrates the beginning of the widespread use of the ending *-κός* as we find it, for example, in the later Greek papyri (Mayser, *Gramm. d. gr. Papyri*, 451 ff.). In meaning, *παννυχικός* = *παννύχιος*, and *παννυχίην* was once unwisely favored here as an emendation. But it is more essential to note that the *κορώνη παννυχική* probably suggested to the ancient reader all that "night-owl!" would convey to an English reader in its application to a person of convivial propensities. The same Phyromachus who here appears *οἷα κορώνη παννυχική* is presently introduced (vss. 5-6) as *ὁ μανρὰ βλέψας ἐκ πελίων . . . ἐπισκυνίων*. The following passages seem to bridge the gap between these two ideas: *γλαῦκες δέ, φησί, καὶ κόρακες ἡμέρας ἀδυνατοῦσι βλέπειν· διὸ νύκτωρ τὴν τροφήν ἑαυτοῖς θηρεύουσι καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρέσπερον, . . .* (Athen. 353 A); *γλαῦκες δὲ καὶ νυκτικόρακες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀδυνατεῖ βλέπειν, τῆς νυκτὸς μὲν θηρεύοντα τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῖς πορίζεται* (Aristot. *H.A.* ix. 34. 619 B). Not only does our hero correspond to the bird in his rapacious desire for food, and in nocturnal depredations, but also in dimness of vision—*ἀδυνατεῖ βλέπειν*—although in Phyromachus' case the dim vision is a result of his own combativeness, the occasion for which we shall presently discover.

Another point of interest in this simile lies in the fact that the comparison of a parasite to a crow, of a *κόλαξ* to a *κόραξ*, is a commonplace in Greek literature, and was probably a favorite topic in Greek comedy.

This latter possibility we cannot afford to neglect in an epigram that ascribes at least some of Phylomachus' features to ἡ ληναικὴ Καλλιόπη (vs. 8). Certainly the earliest occurrence of the theme is in Aristophanes:

ἔδοκει δέ μοι Θέωρος αὐτῆς πλησίον
χαμαὶ καθῆσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν κόρακος ἔχων.
εἴτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρὸς με τραυλίσας,
ἑὸς; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει' (*Wasps* 42 ff.).

Alcibiades' lispng equation of κόραξ with κόλαξ had a great vogue; it appealed to the teachers and preachers, to Diogenes (*ap. Athen.* 254 C), and to Epictetus (*ap. Maximus* xiii. 54), who declared that as κόρακες destroy the eyes of the dead, so κόλακες injure the souls of the living, and blind the eyes of the souls; the moralizing tone of *A.P.* xi. 323 (beginning Ῥῶ καὶ Λάμβδα μόνον κόρακας κολάκων διορίζει) is doubtless due to philosophical influence. But such a passage as Lucian's *Timon* 48 is as likely to reflect comedy as philosophy: χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ὅπως τοὺς μαρτὸν τοῖτους κόλακας φυλάξῃ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μόνον φίλους, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ κοράκων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. Furthermore, the mask of the κόλαξ and the παράσιτος on the comic stage represented the character as hook-nosed: κόλαξ δὲ καὶ παράσιτος μέλανες, . . . , ἐπίγρυποι, εὐπαθεῖς (*Pollux* iv. 148); if we may properly put beside *Pollux* a passage from the *Physiognom.* attributed to Aristotle: οἱ (δὲ τὴν ῥίνα) ἐπίγρυπον (ἔχοντες) ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου εἰδὼς ἀγομένην ἀναδεῖς· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς κόρακας (811 A. 61), we shall see that the hook-nosed parasite of the comic stage may have been in the poet's mind when he introduced the simile, quite as much as the essential trait of παμφαγία which κόραξ and κόλαξ have in common (cf. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 34 ff.; Giese, *de parasiti persona*, 31).

Whatever the range of ideas in the poet's mind, the immediate suggestion in the first verse and a half of our epigram is hardly more than of a greedy parasite. After this characterization there follows, in the style of the ἐπιτύμβιον, a reference to the burial-place, in this case of no ordinary sort, but a ῥωγὰς κάπετος. "Proof of the parasite's poverty," says Schott, evidently taking it to refer to a rough grave dug at the least possible expense. κάπετος certainly means "grave" in the *Iliad* 24. 797, and in Sophocles *Ajax* 1165. 1403, but this meaning is a specialized form of its commoner meaning "trench." One suspects that the specialized meaning, occurring as it does in both authors in the same general situation, is a meaning that is derived from the immediate environment; the haste and informality of burial in the midst of active warfare are suggested by the usage in Homer and Sophocles. (Note the context in Homer, especially vs. 800, and ὡς δύνασαι . . . ταχύνας σπεύδον *Ajax* 1164-5, ταχύνετε 1404). But although there are many ἐπιτύμβια in which economy in the interment of the dead is the main theme, and although there are in such epigrams stereotyped elements (e.g. ἡ μικρὴ λίθος, ὁ

λιτὸς τύμβος), nowhere else in such ἐπιτύμβια or in any other ἐπιτύμβια does κάτερος in the sense of "grave" occur. Under these circumstances I regard it as altogether likely that the ῥωγὰς κάτερος is only an *ex post facto* grave; to start with, it was a natural fissure in the earth. Phylomachus, returning from a κῶμος or a dinner-party in the early morning light, peering out dimly from beneath his bruised and swollen eyebrows, poor night-owl, failed to see the trench and fell into it with fatal results. Over the trench, and the corpse of the parasite, Posidippus calls for the conventional στήλη and στέφανος, and himself supplies the epitaph commemorating the catastrophe, and the character and the external appearance of the deceased at the time of his death, all in the conventional form of the ἐπιτύμβιον but with comic effect.

This interpretation of κάτερος makes it easier to understand the other details of the epigram. The clothing and other external features are described in this epigram, as they seldom are in the ἐπιτύμβια, simply because this death is an accidental death; the dead man is entombed in the garments he wore at the time of the accident—χλαῖνης ἐν τρήχει Πellenιδος. The vicissitudes of the parasite's life are brought out in Alciph. *Epist.* [*Parasit.*] iii. 42. 1: ὁ γὰρ χθὲς ἐνπάρνυφος πιναροῖς, ὡς ὀρᾶς, καὶ τρυχίνους ῥακίους τὴν αἰδῶ περισκέπω. But Schott maintains not only that poverty is suggested in the phrase, but that the Pellenian cloak reveals a new characteristic of the hero: he is a professional πύκτης and winner in the games celebrated at Pellene in Achaea. Certainly there is abundant evidence that victory in these games was rewarded by the gift of a χλαῖνα for the manufacture of which Pellene was famous (Strabo 386: ἔστι δὲ καὶ κώμη Πελλήνη, ὅθεν καὶ αἱ Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι, ἃς καὶ ἄλλα ἐτίθεσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι; cf. Hesychius, Photius *s.v.* Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι; Pollux vii. 67; Suidas *s.v.* Πελλήνη; Schol. Pindar *Nem.* ix. 82, and Boeckh's note in *Pindari Opera* III. 194). Obviously the picture of Phylomachus as a pugilist, an old-time winner in the games, harmonizes with his name, with his toothlessness and bruised eyebrows, and with the mention of ἀγῶνες in vs. 7. Yet I venture to doubt if our hero ever participated in any formal public contests. He is a parasite, and the hard knocks he got came in the natural course of his manly efforts to secure a living at the expense of others. Like many of his kind he was a true Spartan, and I doubt not, often stood his ground and earned his sobriquet of "Rough-house," Φυρόμαχος: Plautus *Capt.* 471: nil morantur iam Lacones unisubsellii viros, | plagipatidas; cf. *ibid.* 88: et hic quidem hercle, nisi qui colaphos perpeti | potes parasitus frangique aulas in caput; Ter. *Eun.* 244: 'at ego infelix neque ridiculus neque plagas pati | possum.'; Aristophon frag. 4 K.: ὑπομένειν πληγὰς ἄκμων; Plautus *Curc.* 396-98, *Pers.* 60, *Amph.* Frag. III. The only ἀγῶνες in which he participated were such noble struggles for existence and subsistence; most of his kind were content to bear the blows, but Phy-

romachus claimed the attention even of the Comic Muse by his willingness to defend himself, though it resulted only in swollen eyes and the loss of his teeth. Granting the truth of this contention, how is the *χλαῖνα Πελληνίς* to be explained? I take refuge in a Greek proverb. The cloaks made at Pellene were not limited to any such small market as that offered by the managers of the games in the Achaean town; the *χλαῖναι Πελληνικαί* were *παχέα ἱμάτια* and *ἀγναφα* (Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 82); this little town, perhaps, hardly kept up with the changes in style; it was content to manufacture the comfortable substantial garments famous as early as Pindar's day. Hence arose the proverb quoted in Suidas s.v. *Πελλήνη* and repeated with the same explanation in *Paroem. Gr.* II, 609: *Πελληναῖος χιτῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιὰ φορούντων ἱμάτια*. Unless one chooses to differentiate sharply the *χλαῖνα* and *χιτῶν* in this connection, our poor parasite has simply acquired a cloak, once comfortable, if out of style, and even that is worn to rags.

In spite of his poverty and his rude grave Phylomachus has claims on the community. He has joined in the revels of the men about town; one of them should provide the *στήλη* and *στέφανος*; Posidippus supplies the epitaph. Phylomachus' part was a humble one, merely that of a *προκύν*. This is not the place to discuss the semasiology of the word. The evidence is baffling (Pollux v. 65; Hesychius s.v. *προκυνεῖν*; *A.P.* xi. 322). The term *κύων* applied to a parasite is clear enough (cf. Plautus *Capt.* 84-86; Diog. Laert. vi. 55; Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, 43 ff.); it may best be interpreted in the words of Diog. Laert. vi. 60: *τοὺς μὲν διδόντας σαίνων, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διδόντας ἱλακτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δάκνων*. The term *προκύν* would seem to be properly used of the well-trained hunting dog that goes ahead to find the prey; such an animal is necessarily subject to the beck and call of its master; perhaps through this association the word is applied to the *κόλαξ*. The *γραμματικοί* of *A.P.* xi. 322 are *πικροὶ καὶ ξηροὶ Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες* perhaps because they are servile adherents of the Alexandrine scholar. And the general connotation of the word is clear from a fragmentary passage of Philodemus' *Rhetorica* (ed. Sudhaus, 242. 21 ff.): *λέγειν οὐ προστάτην ὡς τῶν μετοίκων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀστέιος εἴη, φίλον, εἰ δ' ἦττων ἢ κατὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον, πρόκυννα*.

The thought of the *εἰ ποτε* clause Schott correctly describes in saying that it is equivalent to *πολλάκις γάρ*, etc. But what is the transition to the next sentence? What does *ἦλθε* mean? Schott, never quite forgetful that he is to accept Kaibel's *ληναῖην* in the last verse, is disposed to think that *ἦλθε* means *ἦλθεν εἰς Ἄιδον*. The meaning would be appropriate, but there are no parallels to such an abbreviation of *ἦλθεν εἰς Ἄιδον*. After *συνεκάμασεν*, one may naturally supply (*ἦλθε*) *πρὸς κῶμον*, but the function of the *εἰ ποτε* clause is quite complete in itself; Phylomachus deserves a tribute because he has been a *συγκωμαστής*. On the other hand, we are still mystified by this parasite who has fallen into a

ditch and lies there clad in the rags of his Pellenian cloak. This mystery is solved if we regard ἦλθε as suggesting ἦλθε πρὸς ῥωγάδα κάπετον: for the accident finds its explanation in ὁ μανρὰ βλάβας ἐκ πελίων . . . ἐπισκύνων. At the same time συνεκώμασεν leads up to the description naturally: for both the toothlessness and the dim vision are in harmony with the idea of συγκωμαστής suggested in συνεκώμασεν. And in my own view the intervening συνεκώμασεν suggests a further sequence in the thought: on his return from such a κῶμος the parasite falls into the ῥωγὰς κάπετος. The epigram, of all the literary types, must suggest rather than explicitly set forth the transition in thought. I cannot expect that all readers will be convinced that my understanding of the thought is identical with the poet's intention. But my interpretation of ῥωγὰς κάπετος carries with it my understanding of ἦλθε.

The poet, however, is concerned not merely with solving the mystery of his opening verses but primarily with characterizing the dead. In this irrisory ἐπιτύμβιον the parasite's external features are the natural means of individualizing him: his appetite is an attribute of his class. Phryomachus came to the κάπετος marked by certain features that are explained by his function as παράσιτος and συγκωμαστής, his dim vision and toothless mouth. But he came, too, marked by features that find no explanation in what we have as yet heard about him: he was τριχιδιφθερίας and μονολύκθος. The former word is an emendation, but a very plausible conjecture involving slight change in the text, and in harmony with the conclusion of the epigram. What does τριχιδιφθερίας mean?

The suffix in τριχιδιφθερίας is unusual enough to make the considerable number of words in -ίας in Pollux' account of the masks (iv. 133 ff.) very noticeable. Here we find ξυρίας (133), ἐν χρῶ κυρίας (133, 143), ὠτοκαταξίας (144), ἀναφаланτίας (144, 145, 149), σκιατροφίας (147), κάτω τριχίας (148, 149); and clearly the last phrase, together with διφθερίας (137, 140; cf. διφθερίτις, 138) are of special interest. It is obvious that this suffix is somewhat peculiar to the technical terms applied to tragic and comic masks. We do not find τριχιδιφθερίας in Pollux' list, nor does his description of the mask of the parasite include any features that suggest τριχιδιφθερίας. From the description, however, of the mask known as διφθερίας and worn by θεράποντες in tragedy, we may get a general notion of its distinctive features: τὰ μέντοι θεράποντων πρόσωπα διφθερίας, σφρηνοπῶγων, ἀνάσιλλος. ὁ μὲν διφθερίας ὄγκον οὐκ ἔχων περίκρανον δ' ἔχει καὶ τρίχας ἐκτενισμένας λευκάς, πρόσωπον ὑπωχρόν τε καὶ ὑπόλευκον, καὶ μυκτῆρα τραχύν, ἐπισκύνιον μετέωρον, ὀφθαλμοὺς σκυθρωποὺς (iv. 137). Similarly, of the women's masks in tragedy; ἡ δὲ διφθερίτις . . . ὄγκον οὐκ ἔχει. In tragedy, then, the διφθερίας was distinguished from other masks by having no ὄγκος; the reference to the hair in the description is not specifically covered by the first element in our compound, but both the λευκαὶ τρίχες and τριχι-

διφθερίας seem to be pretty well covered in Auson. *Epp.* 22. 9-10 (if the adjectives refer to Phormio): *canus, comosus, hispidus, trux, atribux*, | *Terentianus Phormio*. We may also note that other details in the account of the tragic *διφθερίας* would harmonize in a general way with Posidippus' picture of Phyromachus (*μυκτὴρ τραχὺς, ὀφθαλμοὶ σκυθρωποί*) but of course it is not certain that the comic *διφθερίας* would repeat these features. Finally, in Pollux' account of the mask of the *παράσιτος* in comedy, one detail is worth noting: *κόλαξ δὲ καὶ παράσιτος μέλαινες, οὐ μὲν ἔξω παλαιίστρας, ἐπίγυρκοι, εὐπαθεῖς· τῷ δὲ παρασίτῳ μᾶλλον κατέαγε τὰ ὦτα καὶ φαιδρότερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὁ κόλαξ ἀνατίθεται κακοηθέστερον τὰς ὀφρὺς*; the form of the ears in the parasite's mask would be a very realistic reproduction of an injury our pugnacious friend might well have suffered in his *ἀγῶνες*, but this detail Posidippus does not choose to include in his picture.

No doubt the distinguishing features of the costume and mask of the parasite in comedy reproduced or exaggerated actual characteristics of the type. On the stage the *λήκυθος* was an essential part of the "properties" of the needy parasite: *cynicum esse egentem oportet parasitum probe: ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium, | marsupium habeat, . . .* Plautus *Pers.* 123-25, cf. Leo, *Hermes* 41. 441 ff.; *vendo* (says the parasite) . . . *robiginosam strigilem, ampullam rubidam, | . . .* Plautus *Stich.* 230-31; it is not possible to say whether a fragment of Aristophanes' *Δαιτυλαίς* (207 K.) is concerned with a parasite: *οὐδ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ στλεγγὶς οὐδὲ λήκυθος*. If this evidence is scanty, the statement of Pollux (iv. 120) carries conviction: *τοῖς δὲ παρασίτοις πρόσκειται καὶ στλεγγὶς καὶ λήκυθος. Μονολήκυθος*, therefore, like *τριχιδιφθερίας*, suggests Phyromachus as he was known to the audience in the theater. There is no need of reading between the lines, as Schott does, and discovering a hidden reference to the funeral *λήκυθος*.

According to my interpretation Posidippus has combined the features of Phyromachus as they were known to his friends and patrons, with the characteristics of the parasite on the comic stage. Just where this combination begins must remain uncertain; we have seen that even the simile of the crow may reflect incidentally the nose of the comic mask; the features in vss. 5-6 are not necessarily at odds with the same mask. But up to vs. 7 there has been no positive intrusion of the *πρόσωπον κωμικόν*; in *τριχιδιφθερίας*, however, the reader must have been startled by the technical word, and *μονολήκυθος* fell in with the association of ideas stimulated by *τριχιδιφθερίας*. Naturally the poet explains this startling intrusion of alien elements: *ἐκ γὰρ ἀγόνων τῶν τότε ληραικῶν ἦλθ' ὑπὸ Καλλιόπῃν*. The *ἀγῶνες* are suggested by *ὁ μανρὰ βλέψας ἐκ πελίων νωδὸς ἐπισκυνίων*—eyes have been dimmed and teeth lost in the hard treatment parasites are subjected to; but after the physical suffering of actual experience, Phyromachus became a theme of the Comic

Muse; to her he owes particularly the features suggested in *τριχιδόφθερίας* and *μονολήκυθος*. Possibly the two definite articles (5, 7) make clear this division. The γάρ of vs. 7, so far from being "fortasse corruptum," is *sine dubio necessarium*! The emendation of *ληναικὴν* to *ληναικῶν* (Casaubon) is no longer feasible. The suggestion of *ληναίην* in the sense of *funebrem* becomes intolerable. *Καλλιόπην*, thanks to Callimachus, remains intact; nor need we think, even if we do not read, *κοῖλον ὀπὴν* or any equivalent pun.

The epigram has slight literary merit; ἡλθε in a literal sense in vs. 5, and in a figurative sense in vs. 8, is unpardonably awkward. But the poem, in my interpretation, adds to the interesting evidence in Greek epigram of the influence of comedy on contemporary literary types, and in itself is a document of some importance bearing on the parasite and his characteristics in life and in the drama: Ribbeck in his *Kolax*, Giese in his study of the parasite, seem to have overlooked it. Without the "new" Callimachus perhaps it would have passed unnoticed for many a day.

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NOTES ON AESCHYLUS, *Agamemnon* 1437; 1163; 1172

I. *Ag.* 1437, for ἀσπίς read αἰγίς.

1434. οὐ μοι φόβον μέλαθρον ἐλπὶς ἐμπατεῖ,

ἕως ἂν αἴθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμῆς

Αἰγισθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.

1437. οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν { ἀσπλς } οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους.
 { αίγλις }

My expectation treadeth not the halls of Fear,
While that there blazeth as a fire upon my hearth
Aegisthus, loyal unto me as heretofore.

For he's our no mean *aegis*-shield of confidence.

i.e. (Aegisthus, say I.), "*for* he is," etc.

1. The interchange of $\sigma\pi$ and $\epsilon\gamma$ in the capital forms $\Sigma\Gamma$ and $\varsigma\gamma$ would have been easy.

2. No hostility was called forth, as is the case in modern literature, whether by the formal pun or by paronomasia. This may be noted all the way from *Od.* ix. 366, 406, 408, 410, 414, in οὔτις—Οὔτις, and μήτις—μῆτις or, as Professor Manatt reminds me, in *Od.* xix. 407, 409, ὀδυσσάμενος—Ὀδυσσεύς, or in Aesch. *Prom.* 85–86, Προμηθεΐα—προμηθεΐως, down to χρηστός—Χριστός in the Christian Fathers (e.g., *Just. Mart.* A, 4, 4; cf. Gildersleeve *ad loc.*).

Aeschylus seems to have been especially hospitable to the play upon words between a proper name and some other word, as may be shown

by two parallels to Αἰγισθος—αἰγίς within the limits of this same play, i.e., *Ag.* 688-89, Ἑλέαν—ἐλέας, ἑλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις, and 1080-82, Ἄπολλον—ἀπόλλων—ἀπόλεισας. Incidentally, this propensity of Aeschylus might even reinforce the MS reading (as against the Scholiast and the confusion in Plutarch) of ἀριστος, rather than δίκαιος, with its reference to Ἀρισταίδης in *Aesch. Sept.* 592.

Another paronomasia between Αἰγισθος and αἶθλη (1435) would be conceivable but far-fetched, and the γάρ in 1437, if the full stop is retained at the end of the line, seems to require something that emphasizes and explains the choice of the comparison. Even if ἀσπίς is retained the αἰγίς is almost inevitably suggested, whether we think of it as a conventional shield or the Homeric flexible covering for arm or head or back or chest. Its Homeric function as a weapon of offense would not be ignored in the limiting word θράσους.

Dr. Verrall, feeling that γάρ is without due motive as the line is ordinarily punctuated, removes the full stop after θράσους and makes οὔτος γάρ look forward to κἄν . . . λυμαντήριος. This, at least, recognizes the difficulty in the usual reading although it cures it in a different way from the one here proposed.

3. That the aegis was at least not foreign to the poet's range of thought, as one of the scraps from the Homeric banquet-table, may be inferred from the fact that he makes reference to it in both of the other parts of this trilogy, i.e., *Choeph.* 593 and *Eum.* 404.

4. The possible objection that the comparison, drawn from the sphere of divinity, would not be applied to mortals does not seem cogent in view of the thoroughgoing anthropomorphism with which human attributes and appurtenances are given to gods—from βοῶπις or χρυσόθρονος Hera down to weapons of offense or defense, like this goat-skin arm- or chest-protector. In *Il.* xviii. 204 Athena herself lends the aegis to a mortal, Achilles. Why should not Clytemnestra hold before herself Aegisthus as an aegis and a terror to the men of Argos?

II. In *Agamemnon* 1163 the MS reading has given rise to suspicion and emendation, as ἄν is desired.

νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.

Sidgwick (foll. Karsten) edits:

νεόγονος ἄν ἀνὴρ μάθοι.

If we read: νεογνὸς ἄν φρονῶν μάθοι, the change between ANΘΡΩΠΩΝ and ANΦΡΩΝΩΝ would be much slighter. An iambus would correspond to a tribrach in the antistrophe: καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονῶν τίθη-. That φρονῶν would thus occur in the same position in strophe and antistrophe is certainly no objection (though it must also be noted that the participle in the antistrophe is itself an emendation for the MS κακοφρονεῖν). A difficulty may seem to arise with the translation: "A newborn child of any

wit might understand." This may seem to throw the emphasis where it is not needed. Or it may be objected that *φρονῶν* with *νεογνός* is a contradiction in terms; cf. *Choeph.* 753 where an infant is defined as τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν; but the oxymoron is no more adventurous than the revealing of wisdom "to babes and sucklings."

III. *Agamemnon* 1172:

† ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ†

Sidgwick approves (but does not admit into his text) Miller's ingenious conjecture:

ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὴν οὐ στάγ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ;

May not ἐμέ lurk in ἐμπέδω? If so, read:

ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμὲ πέδοι βαλῶ.

πόλιν μὲν in the previous line is contrasted with ἐγὼ δὲ . . . ἐμέ—"The city has fallen, soon I too shall fall." In lines 1139, 1149, 1161, and here Cassandra returns, after each comparison, to the frank, physical dread of her own violent death and, after her subsequent long speech, she prays, at 1293-94, that she may die "unconvulsed," by one swift stroke. The unusual word *θερμόνους*, in which lies the chief difficulty, may look forward to this.

For the loc. πέδοι (or dat. πέδῳ) cf. Eur. *I.A.* 39, ῥίπτεις τε πέδῳ (πέδοι) πεύκῃ and the use of πίπτω (= pass. of βάλλω) Aesch. *Choeph.* 48, πεισόντος αἵματος πέδοι and Eum. 479 πέδοι πεισών, etc. The pregnant use of ἐν with dative is not reinforced by such Homeric parallels (incompletely cited by L. and S.; vide *sub* art. "ἐν") as also contain the loc. χαμαὶ e.g. *Il.* 4. 482, ἐν κονίρσι χαμαὶ πέσεν with *Il.* 5. 583, and *Il.* 5. 588, χαμαὶ βάλλον κονίρσι; although other examples, when the loc. is not added, support Miller's emendation as well as Aesch. *Fragm.* 183: μηδ' αἵματος πέμφιγα πρὸς πέδῳ βάλης.

The singular στάξ="a drop" is unknown, and the position of the interrogative οὐ hardly seems felicitous.

Finally, τάχα seems to be essential. Cf. the corresponding line, 1161, in the strophe and ἐν τάχει in 1240. Cassandra reiterates to the chorus the nearness of her doom. For ἐμέ—ἐμαντόν cf. Kühner-Gerth *Griech. Gram.* II, i, 559.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

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PLAUTUS *Asinaria* 374

In scheming to provide the necessary money for the purchase of Philaenium, the slaves Libanus and Leonida plan that the latter shall, by personating Saurea the *atriensis*, receive the twenty minae that the *mercator* is going to pay that worthy for the asses. As the overseer of the slave *familia*, Saurea enjoys, among other privileges, that of beating

the other slaves. So Leonida admonishes Libanus that if, while playing the rôle of Saurea, he should cuff him on the cheek, he should not be angry. Libanus, having no relish for such treatment, vehemently exclaims:

373. Hercle uero tu cauebis ne me attingas, si sapis,
Ne hodie malo cum auspicio nomen commutaueris.

It is evident that Libanus here intends to suggest some such play upon the newly assumed name as will make it one of unlucky omen to its new bearer. The only explanation I have found in the editions is the suggestion of Colerus, given by Taubmann,¹ repeated by Gronovius and ignored by later commentators. According to this, Saurea suggests *Taurea*, in the sense of a lash of rawhide.

In place of this I should offer the following. In the Greek original of the play, the *Onagos* of Demophilus (*vid.* prol. 10 f.), this name Saurea would at once suggest *σαύρα*, "lizard." Many species of this animal are marked with stripes, lateral or longitudinal, or spots, upon the back or sides, or both. In fact all the lizards named by Boulenger²

¹"C. Colerus, meus olim Heilsbrunae in his studiis consecratus, putabat allusum ad vocem Taurea, quae loreum etiam flagellum significet, quod *Pseud.* Act I, 2, terginum appellet, *ἀποδύειν*; Tertullianus: 'alii inter venatorum *taureas* scapulis patientissimis inambulauerunt.'"

²*Catalogue of the Lizards in the British Museum*, by George Albert Boulenger, 3 vols., 1885-87. In this work we find the following lizards assigned to Greece proper:

- A. Family GECKONIDAE:
 - 1. *Gymnodactylus kotschyi*, with angular transverse bands.
 - 2. *Hemidactylus turcicus*, with dark spots.
 - B. Family ANGUIDAE:
 - 1. *Ophisaurus apus*, with dark-brown undulated cross bands on the back and vertical bars on the sides of the head.
 - C. Family LACERTIDAE:
 - 1. *Lacerta viridis maior*, with three or five yellowish longitudinal streaks, usually disappearing in adults, which are speckled with black.
 - 2. *Lacerta peloponnesiaca*, with blackish spots or longitudinal streaks.
 - 3. *Lacerta muralis tiliguerta*, with black spots or blackish and whitish streaks along the back and usually a large black ocellus with blue center above the axilla.
 - 4. *Lacerta danfordii*, speckled or reticulated with black, spotted sides.
 - 5. *Algiroides nigropunctatus*, with black spots.
 - 6. *Algiroides moreoticus*, with black and white spots and yellowish streak along each side of body.
 - D. Family SCINCIDAE:
 - 1. *Ablepharus pannonicus*, with a blackish light-edged lateral streak on each side.
 - 2. *Ophiomorus punctatissimus*, has sides crowded with black spots and each ventral scale has a large brown dot.
 - 3. *Chalcides ocellatus*, with dark or light ocelli, sometimes confluent into irregular transverse bands.
- Other lizards mentioned as found in lands distinctively Greek in classical times are:
- A. Family AGAMIDAE: 1, *Agamo stellio*.
 - B. Family AMPHISBENIDAE: 1, *Blanus strauchii*; 2, *Blanus bedriagae*.
 - C. Family LACERTIDAE: 1, *Lacerta viridis strigata*; 2, *Lacerta parva*; 3, *Lacerta taurica*; 4, *Acanthodactylus schreiberi*; 5, *Ophiops elegans*; 6, *Ophiops schlueteri*.
 - D. Family SCINCIDAE: 1, *Mabuia septentaeniata*; 2, *Chalcides tridactylus*.
 - E. Family CHAMAELONTIDAE: 1, *Chamaeleon vulgaris*.

as found in either Greece proper or such Greek lands as the coasts of Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, etc., are so marked. There can be no doubt that some, if not most or all of these, represent varieties known to the ancients.

The classical writers have a fair number of references to the lizard, but little in the way of a description of its personal appearance. Dioscorides (2. 70) tells us that some call the σήψ also σαύρα χαλκιδική. Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 8. 24, 3) says of it: καὶ ἡ καλουμένη χαλκίς ὑπὸ τινων, ὑπὸ δ' ἐνίων ζυγίς. The Scholiast on Nicander's *Theriaca*, 817, explains this name: καλεῖται δὲ καὶ χαλκίς· ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος χαλκιζούσας ῥάβδους. The description given by Pliny, *N.H.*, xxix. 5, is similar: "lacerta aeneas in tergo virgas habens."

Saurea, then, suggests σαύρα and this in turn suggests the ῥάβδοι or the ocelli as familiar and characteristic marks of the lizards of Greece. Hence Libanus means: "Hit me and I'll make a real σαύρα of you," i.e., he will cover him with stripes with a rod or with black and blue spots with his fists. The stripes would seem preferable because of the play upon the word ῥάβδος in the thought of the Greek original. Any lizard, however, whether striped, or spotted, or both, aptly serves to explain the name¹ and the omen. As a literary analogue we may compare Herondas iii. 89, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὕδρης ποικιλωτέρος πολλῶ, spoken with reference to Cottalus, the laggard schoolboy, after the flogging by his teacher Lampriscus.

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THE MEANING OF KYKAOS IN PLATO, *REP.* 424 A

καὶ μὲν, εἶπον, πολιτεία, εἴανπερ ἅπαξ ὁρμήσῃ εὖ, ἔρχεται ὥσπερ κύκλος αὐξανόμενη.

In the many commentaries and conjectures on this passage the simple and, I think, certain meaning has been missed. The error has arisen from the attempt to find a distinct physical image in κύκλος. No concrete metaphor of hoop or wheel (Jowett and Campbell) or circle widening in water, or even of the actual drawing of a mathematical circle is intended. The familiar passages about the "cycle of existence," whether in the heavens, the elements, the seasons, or the ἀποκατάστασις of human

¹Certainly the omen, if not also the name. The explanation of Saurea as a slave name connoting the idea of one who is as striped or spotted as a σαύρα as the result of floggings or cuffs would seem at least as probable as that of K. Schmidt, *Hermes* XXXVII, 206, connecting the name with σαύρα as a metonym of πέος in the *Anthology* and erotic writers. Our interpretation of the passage in the *Asinaria* is, however, entirely independent of the origin of the name.

affairs are not in point. The κύκλῳ δαίσις of logic is more closely related, but for those who care to be accurate is not the same thing. The "circle" here, as the context shows, is taken broadly and loosely to signify the reciprocal and cumulative effect of nurture on nature and nature on nurture. It is a case of what Porphyry *De Abstinēt.* 2. 40 calls αἰτία δι' ἀλλήλων which can be confounded with proof δι' ἀλλήλων or κύκλῳ only by confusion of reasons with causes. In proof δι' ἀλλήλων the emphasis is on the indefinite continuity of the circular movement or on the return to the starting point, the identity of τέλος and ἀρχή. In αἰτία δι' ἀλλήλων it is on reciprocal action and cumulative effect. Porphyry's example is the corruption of the wise by public opinion, and the corroboration of public opinion by the concessions of the wise. The Platonic passage taken as a whole is precisely similar. Commentators strangely overlook the γάρ and the αὖ in the words that follow those already cited: τροφή γὰρ καὶ παιδεύσεις χρηστὴ σφζομένη φύσει ἀγαθὰς ἐμποιεῖ, καὶ αὖ φύσεις χρησταὶ τοιαύτης παιδείας ἀντιλαμβάνουσαι ἔτι βελτίους τῶν προτέρων φύνται εἰς τε τὰλλα καὶ εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν.

I have found only a few examples of this force of κύκλος; but they are sufficient to establish the usage, and further search would doubtless discover others.

In [Plato] *Epist.* 8. 353 D the suggestion of the geometrical circle is more explicit, but otherwise the meaning is the same. τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο μεγάλων καὶ μυρίων κακῶν αἴτιον ἑκάστοτε ἐμβαίνει γιγνόμενον, καὶ πέρασ οὐδέν ποτε τελεῖται, ἐξάπτει δὲ αἰὲ παλαιὰ τελεντὴ δοκοῦσα ἀρχὴν φρομένη νέη, διολέσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κύκλου τούτου κινδυνεύσει καὶ τὸ τυραννικὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν γένος.

Here the cumulation is of evil, as it is in Porphyry, and in Dion Cass. XLIV. 29 κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰὲ τῶν κακῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ἀνταπόδωσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν δεινῶν συμβαίνει, τό τε γὰρ etc. That is, the evils of faction are cumulative and interminable, for every defeat stimulates the desire for revenge in the worsted party. Note the ἀντάποδωσις, the paying back with interest or "tit for tat" of comedy.

In like manner Iamblichus *de Myster.* p. 177. 10 Parthey, says that evil men attract evil spirits and are in turn made worse by them: συναύξονται τε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων οὕτως καθάπερ τις κύκλος ἀρχὴν τελεντῇ συνάπτων καὶ ἀνταποδοῖς τὴν ἰσὴν ἀμοιβὴν ὡσαύτως.

Here as in the 8th Platonic Epistle there is conscious reference to the mathematical circle, and the language resembles that used by Aristotelian commentators in explanation of reasoning in a circle. Cf. Eustratius in *Analyt. Post.* p. 177. 1, Themist. in *Analyt. Post* B 12. p. 54. 23. But the difference noted above holds.

If these parallels are pertinent, those cited by W. G. Headlam in *E. J. Phil.* XXX. 291 ff. are not to the point. He quotes Soph. fr. 787 on the phases of the moon:

ἀλλ' οὐμὸς αἰεὶ πτόμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ
 τροχῷ κυκλείται καὶ μεταλλάσσει φύσιν
 ὥσπερ σελήνης ὄψις . . .
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα
 * * * * *
 χῶτανπερ αὐτῆς ἐκπρεπιστάτη φανῇ
 πάλιν διαρρεῖ κάπῃ μὴδὲν ἔρχεται.

Evidently the Platonic κύκλος of cumulative effect has nothing to do either with the waxing *and* waning moon or with the distinct image of a wheel that precedes it in Sophocles. The same may be said of the passage which Headlam cites from Hippodamus the Pythagorean apud Stob. *Flor.* 98. 71. It is merely a statement of the commonplace that all human things move in a cycle of growth and decay. That idea is familiar to Plato, but he is not dwelling upon it here. His point is that, given a good start, ἐάνπερ ἀπαξ ὁρμήσῃ εὖ (cf. ἀρχὴν τε καὶ ὁρμὴν κτλ. in *Polit.* 305 D) prosperous growth will be spontaneous and progressive. It would have been singularly inept to weaken this thought by an allusion to the truism that everything must wane as well as wax.

This consideration is fatal also to Adam's interpretation, which agrees with Headlam's on this point though otherwise differing. Adam does not look for a "wheel" or a "hoop," but he says: "The fact is that the growth of a natural (κατὰ φύσιν) city is just like the drawing of a circle in Plato's way of thinking. Like a circle it grows and expands, like a circle, too, when its zenith is passed, it narrows to the inevitable end." But κατὰ φύσιν here means "rightly," and, to waive the objection that a circle does not expand and narrow, but is traced, and that, except in astronomy, its "zenith" is hardly intelligible, Plato is not thinking at all of the "inevitable end" here. He is telling us that in a rightly (κατὰ φύσιν) constituted state the good consequences of the right start are cumulative and due to a kind of reciprocal causality.

I may add in conclusion that Aristotle perhaps had Plato in mind in a passage which I am not able to interpret with certainty. In *Rhet.* 1. 9, 1367b 29 he says: τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ εἰς πίστιν, οἷον εὐγένεια καὶ παιδεία.

This by Aristotelian usage would mean: "The encomium is of actions, and attendant circumstances (the things round about) are (to be used) for confirmation." And so it is generally taken. But the next sentence adds εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸν οὕτω τραφέντα τοιοῦτον εἶναι. Is it not barely possible that τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ gets a special meaning here by reminiscence of the Platonic passage?

PAUL SHOREY

BOOK REVIEWS

Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland. Weitere Forschungen zu den "Vorgriechischen Ortsnamen" von AUGUST FICK. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1909. 8vo, vi + 53 pp.

Readers of our review in *Class. Phil.* 1909, p. 206, may remember that in his *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Fick undertook to distinguish in the pre-Hellenic names of Greek localities the languages of various ancient tribes and races, such as Hittites, Kydonians, Pelasgians, Thracians, etc. In the present monograph, an "aftermath" (as it is called in the preface) to the former investigation, the races and languages concerned are more definitely divided into two groups, viz.:

I. Hittites ("Hattiden") in Europe and Asia Minor, subdivided into

a) Hittite aboriginals of Europe, consisting of (1) Pelasgians, Pelasgians, Tyrsenians, in the eastern portion of the Balkan peninsula; and (2) Lelegans. The latter, originally settled—according to Fick—in the northwestern regions of the Balkan peninsula, were pressed back by the Illyrians toward the east of the Balkans and from there spread to the Greek islands and to the western shore of Asia Minor.

b) Hittites of Asia Minor, including (1) the Hignetes in Rhodes; (2) the Eteocretans; (3) the Lycians; (4) the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians.

II. "Danubians," a name coined by Fick for the Phrygio-Thracian tribes settled at this early period along the banks of the Danube. The Danubians belong to the Indo-European family and are divided into (1) the Brygians (*Βρύγιοι* or *Βρύγιοι*, the European brothers of the Phrygians), whose traces Fick discovers not only in Macedonia but also in the western portion of the Balkan peninsula, e.g., in Epeiros; (2) the Illyrians, on both sides of the Adriatic Sea and, according to Fick, traceable to scattered regions in Greece proper; (3) Thracians "in Thessaly, Phokis, and Attica (Eleusis)."

This classification seems in itself plausible enough and is to a certain extent substantiated by outside evidence. If accordingly, however, we expect to find a clear-cut distinction in the pre-Hellenic nomenclature between Indo-European and Hittite names, we probably shall be disappointed. If it is often difficult to decide whether a locality bears a Hellenic or non-Hellenic name, the decision is still more difficult as to the Indo-European or foreign origin of the non-Hellenic material. Moreover, "Hittite" names are found not infrequently in regions assigned by Fick to Danubian (i.e., Indo-European) settlers. The Kydonians, e.g.,

of Western Crete are counted by Fick¹ among the Danubian tribes, yet among the Kydonian names is recorded that of the mountain *Βερέκυνδος*, containing the suffix *-vδ*, one of the characteristic elements of *Hittite* names. The difficulty may be obviated in various ways. We may assume, e.g., with Fick (*Vorgr. Ortsnamen* 149) that the Kydonian tribe presents a mixture of Indo-European and Hittite elements. The fact, however, remains that a "Hittite" name is found here in a "Danubian" settlement, and the same conditions exist in the Balkan peninsula, where Fick (*Hatt. u. Dan.* 22 ff.) assumes a "Pelagonian-Pelasgian stratum" in Thracian and Illyrian regions. The question even may be raised whether we are allowed to regard Thracian and Phrygian, as is the fashion now, as Indo-European languages. I am ready to admit that among the Thracian names collected by Tomaschek in his treatise on "Die alten Thraker" (*Sitzber. d. Wiener Akad., Phil. hist. Kl.*, Vols. 128, 130, 131) there are many which bear a close similarity to Indo-European, especially to Slavic, proper names. We must not, however, overlook the fact that there are other Thracian names—and this probably applies to the majority of these names—that cannot be called any more Indo-European than, e.g., the majority of the Etruscan names. The Thracian language accordingly may be counted among the "mixed" languages. If we consider that the Indo-Europeans appear in the south of the Balkan peninsula as conquerors subduing an earlier foreign ("Hittite") population, there is no reason why Thracian and Phrygian should not be regarded as languages of the Hittite variety which, by a considerable admixture of Indo-European material, have gained the appearance of Indo-European or at least semi-Indo-European languages.

Matters are hardly different in regard to the Illyrian. This name is used by Fick so as to include the Messapian. But among the Illyrian and Messapian names mentioned by Fick (*V.O.* 142 ff., *Hatt. u. Dan.* 29-32) there are very few, if any, that seem to contain Indo-European elements. Nor can I convince myself that the question is settled in favor of the Indo-European by the Messapian inscriptions.

Fick, it seems to me, has to a certain extent obviated his own distinction between Hittites and Danubians by admitting (*V.O.* 142) the possibility of a mixture between (Hittite) Lelegans and (Indo-Eur.) Illyrians, and by assuming (*Hatt. u. Dan.* 22) a Hittite substratum ("Pelagonisch-Pelasgischer Untergrund") in Thracia and Illyria.

The question I am raising is perhaps of little practical consequence. Whether the answer be given the one way or the other, it cannot materially affect the validity of Fick's results, because these are not exclusively

¹ *Hatt. u. Danub.* 39. Fick has abandoned his former theory (*Vorgr. Ortsn.* 16 f.) that the Kydonians were immigrants from N.W. Asia Minor. In his present opinion, the Kydonians were an Illyrico-Thracian or, more particularly, a Brygian tribe, which found its way to Crete from the western shores of the Balkan peninsula.

based on linguistic evidence, but rather on ethnographical data, due attention having been given by Fick to historical traditions preserved by ancient authors, to the identity or similarity of geographical names in various parts of Greece (or of Greece and Asia), to the connection between mythological conceptions or religious cults, etc. In this respect, the present monograph serves as a continuation and supplement of the *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, with occasional modifications of sundry details (as, e.g., in regard to the immigration to Crete of the Kydonians).

A prominent place is given by Fick in both of his treatises to the island of Crete. (See *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* 6-40, 125-127, and *Hatt. u. Dan.* 8-13 and 36-38.) The conditions, indeed, found in Crete are especially instructive, and it may be of interest, therefore, to compare Fick's results with those arrived at by Rich. Meister in his important treatise *Dorer und Achäer* (I. Teil) in the *Abhandlungen der K. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., Phil. hist. Cl.*, Bd. XXIV, No. III (Leipzig, 1904). Meister's purpose, to be sure, is different from that of Fick. He does not concern himself primarily with pre-Hellenic but with early Hellenic conditions, and bases his conclusions not on proper names but on dialectic differences found in Greek inscriptions and literary sources. The principal question which Meister sets out to answer is the one: Who were the ancient Achaeans? and why is it that Ἀχαιοί serves at the earliest Greek period (e.g., in Homer) as a general designation of the Greeks? The ingenious manner in which the problem is solved recommends itself by its very simplicity.

Meister begins with showing that in the Laconian inscriptions, heretofore supposed to belong to one and the same dialect, two different varieties must be distinguished: (a) one exhibiting the well-known features common to most of the so-called Doric dialects; and (b) another characterized by the following phonetic peculiarities: (1) *h* instead of intervocalic *σ*, e.g., νικάῃας = att. νικήσας; (2) *σ* instead of *θ*, e.g., Σήριππος = Θήριππος; (3) *δ* (initial) or *δδ* (intermediate) for *ζ*, e.g., Δείς = Ζεύς; γυμνάδδομαι = γυμνάζομαι; (4) *β* instead of *ρ*, e.g., βοικέας = *ρoικέας, att. οἰκέτης; (5) *ι* instead of *ε* before *a*- and *o*-vowels, e.g., σῖός = θεός. Meister proves that the difference between the two varieties goes hand in hand with (a) that of the original population which in consequence of the Doric immigration was reduced in Laconia to the condition of περίοικοι and εἰλωτες; and (b) that of the Doric conquerors, who settled in Sparta and its immediate vicinity as a privileged and strictly organized cast refraining from intermixture with the vanquished population. Similar conditions, as Meister points out, prevailed elsewhere in regions to which the Doric migration extended, e.g., in Argos.

The conclusion then seems unavoidable that the dialect which heretofore has gone under the general name of Doric (θεός, νικάσας, etc.) is

rather a pre-Doric language, viz., that of the Greek tribes subdued by the Doric invaders. It is these pre-Doric tribes that are called 'Ἀχαιοί by Homer, the Homeric poems in this as in other respects representing the conditions that prevailed in Greece at the time preceding the Doric invasion.

As regards the island of Crete in particular, Meister (pp. 61-97) is able to trace in the Cretan inscriptions the same difference between an Achæan and a genuine Doric dialect which he observed in Laconia. While in Laconia the Doric population is found in Sparta and its immediate vicinity, the Doric strongholds of Crete are formed by the two cities of Gortyn (together with the neighboring towns of Lebena, Phaistos, Inatos, Priansos) and Knosos in the center of the island. Of the five criteria characteristic of the Laconian Doric, at least four (i.e., Nos. 2-5) occur in the inscriptions of these cities in essentially the same manner (though not without differences in detail) as in Laconia. On the other hand: both the extreme eastern and the extreme western portions of the island agree—so far as the earlier pre-Hellenic dialects have not been preserved¹—rather with the "Achæan" dialect of the pre-Doric population of the Peloponnesus. The transition from the Doric center to the Achæan extremities is a gradual one, there being found on either side of the central division a district more or less influenced by the Doric dialect of Gortyn and Knosos. As a result of Meister's theory (or, as I would prefer to say, Meister's discovery) the Cretan cities represented by Greek inscriptions may be assigned to five different zones, viz. (proceeding from west to east):

1. Western Crete (Kydonia): Polyrhen, Kantanos, Elyros, Dikty-naion, Kydonia, Aptara, Hyrtakina, Tarrha, Lappa.
2. Western transition zone: Sybrita, Sulia, Eleutherna, Vaxos, Rhaukos, Arkadia.
3. Central Crete: Gortyn with Lebena, Phaistos, Inatos, Priansos; Knosos (Knossos).
4. Eastern transition zone: Lyttos (Lyktos), Biannos, Malla, Dreros, Olus, Lato, Istron, Eronos (Erannos), Allaria.
5. Eastern Crete (the "Eteocretan" district): Itanos, Praisos (Prasos), Hierapytna, Oleros.

Notwithstanding the fact that the two scholars do not quite agree as to the interpretation of the term "Achæans," the results at which Fick and Meister arrived, as it seems independently of each other, may be well made to agree. It is to be hoped that further light will be shed on the early ethnology of Crete and of Greece as a whole when the puzzling Minoan inscriptions, discovered by Dr. Evans, shall have been deciphered.

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¹ Compare on the Eteocretan inscriptions of Praisos: Meister, p. 62, on the non-Hellenic language of Kydonia, *ibid.*, p. 66.

Platon. Von CONSTANTIN RITTER. Erster Band. München: BECK, 1910. Pp. xv + 588. M. 9.

The second volume of Professor Ritter's *Platon* will present a systematic account of the Platonic philosophy, based on the content of the Republic and the later dialogues. The present volume contains the life of Plato, the necessary preliminary characterizations and classifications of the dialogues, and analyses of the *Laches*, *Hippias Minor*, *Protagoras*, *Charmides*, *Hippias Maior*, *Euthyphron*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Gorgias*, *Euthydemus*, *Cratylus*, *Meno*, *Menexenus*, *Lysis*, *Symposium*, and *Phaedo*, which the author thinks were written in this order.

The account of Plato's life and character, occupying 193 pages, is the best and most readable with which I am acquainted. Without straining the evidence, or abandoning himself to fantastic conjectures, Professor Ritter contrives to bring the few known facts of Plato's life into plausible relation with the political and literary history of his time in the most illuminating fashion. Very attractive, too, is the warm, yet sober and restrained, enthusiasm for the personality of Plato that pervades the whole. Professor Ritter refutes the cheap calumnies reported by Athenaeus, vindicates the patriotism of Plato against Niebuhr and others, and tells the story of the Sicilian journeys in such a way as to justify Plato's conduct on every point. In so doing, he makes much use of the seventh and eighth and third epistles, rejecting the second, the thirteenth, and others accepted by Eduard Meyer and Christ. I doubt the genuineness even of the seventh and eighth epistles, and absolutely reject the third, for reasons which I shall give later. But they are interesting early documents, and I have little exception to take to Professor Ritter's use of them.

To the question of the genuineness of the dialogues he deigns to give only a few words. He refuses to discuss the older attempts to athetize the *Parmenides* and the *Sophist*. He rejects peremptorily the two *Alcibiades*, the *Ion*, for which much can be said, and the *Epinomis*, which Reuther has recently attempted to rehabilitate.

For the dating of the dialogues, he recognizes the following methods: (1) The rare allusions to contemporary history, which he dismisses briefly, adhering to 385 for the *Symposium*, and preferring 369 for the *Theaetetus*; (2) allusions to other writers; he sensibly rejects most of the venturesome hypotheses of Teichmüller and Dümmler concerning the relations of Plato and Isocrates, and dismisses both the *Busiris* problem and the *Ecclesiastousae* problem with a *non liquet*; (3) distinct references of one dialogue to another, which are few and yield slight results; (4) variations (a) in Plato's thought, (b) in his style. With regard to (a), he virtually, though not explicitly, accepts the conclusion supported by more detailed argument in my *Unity of Plato's Thought*, that

the attempts to date the dialogues in this way have thus far broken down. He could hardly do otherwise, since he dates so rich a work as the *Protagoras* before the death of Socrates, and agrees with me that the *Gorgias* does not really contradict the *Protagoras*, and that the fallacies which Gomperz and others find in Plato are mainly due to misinterpretation (cf. *Class. Phil.* I, 297).

His main interest is in (b) the evidence furnished by the statistical study of style, in which he has been a leader. He expounds the method clearly, gives illustrations that will make its applications clear to the general reader, defends it vigorously against the skepticism of Zeller and others, and verifies its validity on the writings of Goethe. The main result, as is now generally admitted, is the recognition of a later group of Platonic writings, the *Laws*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*; a central group comprising the *Republic*, *Theaetetus*, the *Phaedrus*, and, as many hold, the *Parmenides*, *Symposium*, and *Phaedo*; and an earlier group, the precise limits and dating of which Ritter regards as uncertain. He takes the dialogues up for analysis in the order which seems most probable to him.

The analyses are carefully made, but we may be permitted to regret the space given to them after the work of Grote, Jowett, Bonitz, Gomperz, Horn, and so many others. Every interpreter of Plato should have made analyses of all the dialogues for himself. It is perhaps not necessary always to print them. A closer critical discussion of difficult, doubtful, or often misunderstood passages is what is needed now. The chief thing said of the minor dialogues is what I and others have already emphasized, that they point forward to the "good" as the one key to the problems which they leave unsolved. It is, I think, a mistake, on p. 294, to translate *Laches* 182 D, πάντα γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι, "alles sollte man eigentlich wissen," and to treat it as the characteristic utterance of the *Bildungsphilister*. The words are spoken, not by Nicias, as Professor Ritter seems to imply, but as a concession by Laches, who is not a *Bildungsphilister*, and they mean, as Jowett correctly translates them, simply: "For all (that is, every kind of) knowledge seems to be a good." Professor Ritter holds, as I do in *Unity*, that the fallacies of the *Hippias Minor* are intentional. He adds the perhaps fanciful suggestion that, since even now many scholars fail to see this, Plato could not have intended the dialogue for publication, when it was written, because it would exhibit Socrates in an unfavorable light. In the analysis of the *Charmides*, he retains the Greek word σωφροσύνη, because it is untranslatable. The metaphysical problem of knowledge of knowledge he postpones to the *Theaetetus*. The *Euthyphro* he thinks, was published between the accusation and the trial of Socrates. He does not discuss the difficult passages, or the theory that the dialogue eliminates piety from the list of cardinal virtues. The *Apology* and *Crito* are more fully

described, in the interest of the general reader. The discussion which follows the *résumé* of the *Gorgias* is confined to ethics, practically ignoring rhetoric. He holds, as I do, that there is no real contradiction with the *Protagoras*, and that the "fallacies" are only apparent. The deeper discussion of ethical theory he seems to reserve for the *Philebus*. The change of tone from the *Protagoras* he attributes to Plato's feeling that the seeming hedonism of the *Protagoras* might injure Socrates in the eyes of those who failed to understand it.

The generally accepted allusion to Isocrates at the close of the *Euthydemus* he denies with some heat, because Zeller had used it in connection with the praise of Isocrates in the *Phaedrus*, as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the conclusions of *Sprachstatistik*. Isocrates is not named, and I am not concerned to insist that he is specifically meant. But I think it is certain that an Athenian reader would have thought of Isocrates. I cannot understand Blass's assertion (*Att. Bered.* II, 34) that the sentence attributed to the unknown is not in Isocrates' manner at all: *περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἀναξίαν σπουδὴν ποιουμένων* seems to me a fair parody of the style of, e.g., *σπουδάζων καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος περὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὓς οὐδεὶς ὑπείληφεν ἀξίους εἶναι λόγου* (*Isoc.* 12. 22.), which is of course later.

Nor can I accept Ritter's argument that since Crito says that he is quoting verbatim and the words are not to be found in our text of Isocrates, therefore we must look elsewhere. I do not believe that the phrase *οὕτως γὰρ πῶς καὶ εἶπε τοῖς ὀνόμασι* (304 E) necessarily implies verbatim quotation from a published work—the emphasis is on the reproduction of the manner, the tricks of style, not on textual fidelity, which would probably be otherwise expressed in Greek. (Cf. *Isoc.* 1. 9; *Apol.* 17 B; *Phaedr.* 234 D; *Hippias Minor* 286 A; *Symp.* 198 B.)

Professor Ritter, I am glad to see, apprehends the fact that the etymologies of the *Cratylus* are mainly jests. The serious thought of the dialogue he again postpones, as he does that of the *Meno*, which follows. I note on p. 483 what seems to me a slight inaccuracy with regard to the *Meno*—the omission in the summary of *τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν . . . ἀνάμνησις*. The words are needed, for it is to them that the following words of the summary, "Ich spreche das nicht als sichere Wahrheit aus," chiefly refer, as is made probable by 86 B. Professor Ritter may prove later that *ἀνάμνησις* here means "Besinnung auf sich selbst," but he is not justified in assuming it by anything thus far said. The treatment of the mixture of jest and earnest in the *Menexenus* is excellent. The *Lysis* is dismissed with a summary, and the analysis of the *Symposium*, however interesting to the general reader, must be regarded merely as preparation for further discussion. In the *Phaedo*, Professor Ritter avoids most of the errors of the school, if I may call it so, of Mr. Archer-Hind and Mr. Henry Jackson. He clearly recognizes that the teleological interpretation of cause is renounced and that the *δεύτερος πλοῦς* is in

the main mere logic. He expounds the method of hypotheses rightly, and correctly interprets the *ικανόν* in a relative and dialectical, not in an absolute and metaphysical, sense. I only regret that on p. 542 he translates *δύο εἶδη τῶν ὄντων* (*Phaedo* 79 A) "Zwei Arte des Wirklichen." "ὄντων" here is a colorless "things," and "Wirklichen" overtranslates it.

In the final chapter, on the "Theory of Ideas" in the *Phaedo* and earlier dialogues, he announces that as he formerly could not find the Aristotelian view of the Platonic idea in the later dialogues, so now he is unable to find it in the earlier works either. I have discussed this point in my review of his Platonic studies (*Class. Phil.* V, 390) and shall recur to it on the appearance of his second volume. I will content myself now with the observation that the Aristotelian misrepresentation that the ideas are *αἰσθητὰ ἀίδια* is not identical with the theory, that they were and always remained for Plato something more than mere concepts. Plato explicitly affirmed that they possess objective and transcendental reality, and he explicitly refuses to define the nature of this reality.

PAUL SHOREY

Aristophanis Cantica Digessit stropharum popularium appendiculam adiecit OTTO SCHROEDER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. vi + 100. M. 2.40.

With the *Aristophanes*, Professor Schroeder completes his rewriting, in terms of the "new metric," of virtually the entire body of extant Greek lyric verse. He is to be congratulated on the accomplishment of a laborious and useful task. Truth, in Bacon's words, more readily emerges from error than from confusion. Even those who are unable to accept all the principles of this metric will be greatly helped in future study of the subject by having at hand a systematic application of them to a large amount of verse.

In spite of the considerable recent literature of discussion of the new metric, few scholars have any clear idea how much difference it makes, or what it means. The amount of difference in practice for *viva-voce* reading could be determined only by an audience of experts listening to the reading of several hundred lines of various measures by Professor Schroeder and by a representative of the old school which once was the new. The difference would probably not be very great. It would perhaps be imperceptible to the untrained ear. Some continuous logaoedies and stately epitrites would perhaps seem to break up into more choppy and lively rhythms. But it is not safe to affirm even this without auditory demonstration.

What then does it all mean? Waiving technicalities and all controversies that turn merely on the choice of terminology and symbols, I think the essence of the matter can be brought under two main heads:

1. The new metric emphasizes the rhythmic division of lines into two

(sometimes, of course, three) equivalent sections, and measures the equivalence broadly in terms of groups of four or five or even eight syllables rather than by the conventional fixed feet or bars of two or three syllables. This may be in part, as I have elsewhere suggested, merely a reinsistence on scansion by dipodies, together with a larger recognition of transposition and substitution in the measuring of equivalents. In any case, I shall not discuss the point further here.

2. The new metric finds in Greek verse a greater tendency to ascending movements than is recognized in logaoedic and dactylo-epitrite scansion. Professor Schroeder in particular, wherever it is possible, gives the second half-line ascending iambic or choriambic and bacchic movement, in loose equivalence to a first half composed of less definitely arranged syllables and quantities. He deserves our thanks for raising a most interesting question, whatever we may think of his contribution to the answer. It is easy enough of course to write out a given series of longs and shorts in either an ascending or descending scheme. But in practice, and when the longs and shorts are embodied in the syllables of actual speech, the determination of the precise line of demarcation between ascending and descending rhythm becomes one of the most delicate and difficult problems of metric. The criteria may be so familiar to Professor Schroeder's mind that he has not thought it worth while to state them. But I can assure him that the matter is far from clear to the majority even of metrists. In descending rhythm, the light or unstressed syllables lean back toward the heavy or stressed syllable. In ascending rhythm, they incline and move forward to it. That is simple enough, and in strongly marked regular anapaests or dactyls there is no difficulty. But in more complicated or shifting rhythms, the test is by no means of easy application for the average ear. No less a metrist than Christ actually affirms that Goethe's *Erl Koenig* is written in descending rhythm. Writers of repute on English metric frequently mistake Byron's and Swinburne's anapaests for dactyls, and even Munro is sometimes in doubt whether a given verse of Tennyson is best treated as trochaic or iambic. In the so-called English hexameters the dactyls are always turning into anapaests, to the surprise and annoyance of their authors. When a poem is set to music under the direction of the poet, we have a certain test of the author's intention. Failing that, we must be guided in living languages by our instinctive feeling for the natural movement of the words, and in a dead language by an acquired instinct supported by a laborious accumulation of facts. Now, much as it is needed, I do not know of the existence of any considerable study of this kind for Greek. Professor Schroeder's instinctive feeling of the true rhythm may convince himself. But to convince others he must show that where he affirms ascending choriambic and bacchic movement in logaoedics or epitrites there is something in the word endings, the

phrasal units, and the relation of unimportant to important syllables that tends to confirm his reading. Such evidence may be inadequate and unsatisfactory. But it is the only evidence that the nature of the case admits. And the next thing to do in the study of Greek metric is to collect it.

Instead of attempting this, Professor Schroeder complicates the already difficult problem of what Greek meter is by a purely conjectural theory of how it came to be—of its evolution. And his main effort thenceforward is to enlist his instincts and force his schemes into the service of this theory. He holds that Greek meters are a development, a fusion of, and a compromise between two distinct prehistoric systems—an Aeolian system which merely counted syllables, regardless of stress or quantity, and an originally ascending “enoplic” system which measured by rhythmic beats regardless of the number of syllables. This is a neat schematism, but its a priori psychological improbability is enormous. The tendency of some ears merely to count syllables and of others to measure rhythmic beats is a general phenomenon of human nature. Numerous English readers today are rendered uneasy by any deviation from the ten-syllabled English “heroic” iambic verse, while others take naturally to Swinburne’s twelve- or fourteen-syllabled lines. The natural human conflict and compromise between these two tendencies will explain all the relevant phenomena of Greek poetry far more satisfactorily than will the assumption of the prehistoric embodiment of each in rigid, distinct, and exclusive systems. The evidence alleged in proof of the existence of such systems is totally inadequate. It consists merely of Professor Schroeder’s inferences from perhaps a hundred lines of Aeolian and conjecturally popular verse, several hundred years later than Homer, and from a few Homeric hexameters that begin irregularly. This is not enough. The plain historical fact is that for us Greek poetry begins with a finished, quantitatively determined descending measure, the Homeric hexameter, and that one or two hundred years later we have already in Archilochus a wide variety of lyric measures, both ascending and descending. Conjectures concerning the prehistoric origin of these meters may be a fascinating philological inquiry, but they should be kept distinct from the study of meter as it is. We should not allow systematic views about the origin of Greek meters to influence our judgment of the actual movement of a given specimen of later Greek verse. That must be determined by our unbiased rhythmic instinct, supplemented by a minute study of the facts.

To apply these principles to the book before me would be to rewrite Professor Schroeder’s schemes. He may be partially right in feeling that there is more ascending movement in Greek lyric than the received logaoedic and dactylo-epitrite scansion brings out. But suspicion is necessarily aroused by the fact that he systematically assumes such

movement in the interests of a preconceived theory of metrical evolution. I must content myself in illustration with a few typical cases where my rhythmic feeling diverges slightly from his, and where I fail to see any evidence to support his reading, either in word-ending, phrase movement, or natural emphasis.

Eq. 1111 ff.:

ὦ Δῆμε καλὴν γ' ἔχεις
ἀρχήν, ὅτε πάντες ἄν—κτλ.

Aves 1731:

Ἦρ᾽ ποτ' Ὀλυμπία, κτλ.

Ran. 450:

τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον, κτλ.

In these Professor Schroeder's scansion would be possible if we knew that the music required it. But I see nothing to necessitate the sharp rhythmic bisection of the lines, which, if it means anything, involves an improbable pause in ὅ—τε and ἡμέ—τερον. It is only this systematic division that yields the regular ascending iambic movement — — — of the second half, and that lends any plausibility to the conjecture "strophæ structuram ex Aeolica Anacreontis strophæ γοννοῦμαί σ' ἐλαφηβόλε imitatione dixeris esse expressam." Unless we also divide systematically, artificially, and emphatically,

γοννοῦμαί σ', ἐ—λαφηβόλε
ξανθὴ παῖ Δι—ός, ἀγρίων

there is for the natural ear little resemblance between the two strophes.

In *Birds* 929, the division

τεῦ κε—φαλῆ θέλεις

seems very arbitrary, as does in 1374 the treatment of

—πον πτερίγες—σι κούφαις

as ch. ba. And so in countless other passages the completion of the last choriamb of a series seems to have no motive except the determination to secure the favorite ending "ch. plus ba." and avoid recognition of the "cyclic" dactyl. And apart from this there still remains the question whether Professor Schroeder or any other metrist really can and does pronounce choriambic as — — — and not as approximately — — — — —.

Finally, it is difficult to believe that Professor Schroeder himself actually recites sapphics according to the scheme given for them on p. 89: 0000+ch. ba; that is,

παῖ Διός δο—λοπλόκε λίσ—σομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι—μηδ' ὀνίαι—σι δάμνα.

And yet, if the description does not mean this, it is hard to say what it does mean. Why should we suppose that the entire Greek nation, with all its poets, was so obsessed by the choriambic jingle, which is a mannerism of Euripides' worst polyschematic glyconics, that whenever they saw the combination — — — — they made a dash at it without regard to what happened to the remainder of the verse?

PAUL SHOREY

Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Studien und Beobachtungen. Von
CARL ROBERT. Berlin: Weidmann, 1909. Pp. vii+347.
Mit 2 Plänen und 7 Planskizzen.

This latest contribution to the study of Pausanias is exceedingly rich in suggestion and presents a new point of view. The attack of Wilamowitz on the trustworthiness of Pausanias some thirty years ago, which was followed up by Kalkmann's exhaustive study to prove that the author of the *Periegesis* had seen very little of Greece but had compiled the bulk of his work from the manuals of earlier writers, called forth vigorous champions in Schoell, Gurlitt, Heberdey, and Frazer. Yet the effect of this investigation into the trustworthiness of the author—which is now universally admitted—had diverted the attention of scholars from the study of the literary qualities of Pausanias. Robert has entered upon this neglected field and in his *Pausanias als Schriftsteller* directs attention chiefly to the author's literary method, purpose, manner, and style.

The book may be examined from two points of view: (1) the author's constructive work in developing a literary study of Pausanias; (2) the author's endeavor to show that the world of scholars has made a mistake in regarding the *Description of Greece* as a guide-book, when Pausanias intended it to be primarily a literary composition that would reflect credit upon a second-century sophist and rhetorician. An analysis of the volume will prepare us for a satisfactory appraisal of the work from these two considerations.

In the introduction Robert comments on how the archaeological significance of Pausanias has caused the consideration of his literary qualities to fall into the background. What he seeks above all is to give the literary side of his writer full vindication.

In the first chapter—"Die Tendenz des Werkes"—the author states his principal thesis. He quotes Pausanias i. 39. 3 and iii. 11. 1 to show that the material embraced in the work may be divided into two categories, namely *λόγοι* and *θεωρήματα*, "stories" and "monuments," and then asserts that the monuments are to him nothing more than the prop, the occasion for the *λόγοι*, as in Athenaeus the banquet merely furnishes the framework for the stories. Or, to use his own language, "Es ist nichts als eine grosse Zusammenstellung von *λόγοι* für die die *Periegesis* ebenso nur den Rahmen abgiebt, wie bei Athenaios das Gastmahl."

The second chapter is devoted to an analysis of the *λόγοι*. These are varied in character so that one might well call the work a *παντοδαπή ιστορία*. Here are to be found historical, mythological, and anecdotal narratives, biographies, antiquarian and scientific observations, ethical reflections. There is no lack of variety; dryness and tediousness are the last reproach the book deserves. Robert analyzes and paraphrases a

great number of the λόγοι, pointing out their characteristic features, and adds that he has treated but an inconsiderable portion of this varied collection of stories.

The third chapter discusses Pausanias' handling of the θεωρήματα or, as he names them, τὰ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν or τὰ θεῶς ἄξια. His description of buildings leaves much to be desired. He speaks very rarely of the plan, of the size, of the style. The fullest account is that of the Zeus temple at Olympia. Of the Parthenon he gives us merely the name and the subjects of the pediment sculptures. His description of the cult-statues on the other hand leaves scarcely anything to be desired, as for example, that of the Athena Parthenos (i. 24. 57.), or of the Olympian Zeus (v. 11. 1-8). Yet Pausanias always writes as a *littérateur*, not as an archaeologist. Modern science would make him "ein gelehrter Antiquar," "ein sorgfältiger Materialsammler." On the contrary, "Ein Belletrist will er sein, wie man heute sagen würde; zu seiner Zeit nannte man das einen Sophisten."

The fourth chapter is entitled "Die Anordnung der Beschreibung." Just as in a preceding chapter Robert has set aside the conception of Pausanias as an archaeological investigator, so here he finds entirely at fault the characterization of his book as "ein Handbuch für Reisende, einen antiken Baedeker." He holds that Pausanias wished to write "keinen Reiseführer, sondern ein angenehm zu lesendes Buch" (p. 110). The writer did not concern himself at all with matters of transportation and food and lodging. He did not describe objects in the same order in which the reader would see them. The principle he follows is that of a system of radii from a common center, as, for example, in his description of Athens, combined with a series of categories as islands, mountains, demes, etc.

The next chapter—"Die Städtebeschreibungen"—is perhaps the best in the book. To ascertain Pausanias' method, he analyzes in an effective way the twenty-six most important descriptions of cities, including the sacred precincts, Olympia and Delphi. He discovers several *schemata* under which the descriptions may be grouped. These are as follows: A, Topographical Principle: (a) (1) Acropolis in 4 cases (Sicyon, Phlius, Patrai, Pheneos); (2) Agora in 5 cases (Corinth, Argos, Sparta, Messene, Troezen); (3) a single building in 3 cases (Tegea, Elis, and Epidaurus); (b) the gate in 6 cases (Athens, Pellene, Thebes, Plataea, Delphi, Aegina); (c) special cases (Megara, Megalopolis, Hermione); B, Systematic Principle in 5 cases (Olympia, Aigion, Mantinea, Tanagra, Thespiae). The topography of each of these places is discussed in detail. In the description of Athens, Robert shows how, though beginning with the gate, it links itself closely with the market type. He accepts as proven Dörpfeld's theory as to the location of Enneakrounos.

The sixth chapter, entitled "Einiges vom Stil des Autors," is very

short and adds but little to our knowledge. He recognizes Pausanias' dependence upon Hegesias, and holds that he modernizes the style of Herodotus in the manner of Hegesias. He discusses in some detail three peculiarities of style, namely, paraphrase, perissology, and *oratio variata*.

The seventh chapter—"Der Gesamtplan des Werkes"—is a discussion of the plan of composition as a whole and of the form and date of publication. He finds that the principle of "routes" and "radii" applies to the whole work as well as to single districts, that certain cities form the centers for the composition of the book and with the routes uniting them form a kind of genealogical tree, which he presents on p. 260.

Robert thinks it is clear that the work is not complete. Though i. 1. 1. may be regarded as an adequate prooemium, there is an abrupt conclusion to book x. Stephanus of Byzantium evidently had other books before him in preparing his Lexicon, and there were probably originally 14 books, of which the last four were distributed as follows: xi, Aetolia and Akarnania; xii, Doris, Opus, etc.; xiii, Thessaly; xiv, Euboea. The final chapter bears the caption "Lebenzeit und Heimat des Autors." Robert favors Damascus as the place of his birth rather than Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus. He thinks he was born under Hadrian not later than 115 A.D., and that his work as we have it appeared in four parts: 1, the Atthis about 160; 2, 1, 39, 4, ii, iii, iv, between 160 and 174; 3, v, vi, vii, in 174; 4, viii-xii, after 177.

Robert concludes his work with lengthy appendices on Delphi; (1) Die Tempel auf der Marmaria; (2) Die heilige Strasse, and on Athen; die Agora.

We are deeply indebted to Robert for emphasizing so fully the literary qualities of Pausanias. His treatment of the author shows how unjust it is to regard him merely as a cicerone, and that he is well deserving of being read in our colleges and universities, not merely for the topographical and archaeological information he imparts, but as a good storyteller and literary craftsman as well. So on the literary side Robert has contributed greatly to our knowledge.

Yet we must differ absolutely from Robert as to the main thesis of his work, namely, that the *Description of Greece* was not intended as a guide-book, but places and monuments were mentioned merely for the sake of the stories. This is for the following reasons: (1) It is a guide-book. Every student and archaeologist who visits Greece uses Pausanias as his *Vademecum*. With Baedeker in one pocket and Pausanias in the other he explores the sites of ancient cities, and by a study of the two he seeks to restore them in his imagination as they were in the bright days of their splendor. In the excavations at Olympia, at Mycenae, at Delphi, at Corinth, and elsewhere Pausanias was at every turn the chart and

guide-book, and every effort was made to identify the objects he mentions and fit them into his plan. If Pausanias is a guide-book today, why was he not a guide-book to Greece when its monuments still retained the splendor and freshness of the older time?

2. Robert objects to the characterization of the work as "ein Handbuch für Reisende, einen antiken Baedeker." True, it is not a guide-book in the modern sense with its details about transportation, comfort, and lodging. But it was a guide for the special lines of aesthetic interest for which it was intended. To illustrate this as far as Athens and Attica are concerned, see the introduction to my edition of *The Attica of Pausanias*, pp. 6, 7, where I compare in detail his topographical method with that of Baedeker's Greece; also my *Topographical Outline*, pp. 12-25 with the Index to Baedeker. Similar comparisons may be made for other books.

3. Robert himself is the best refutation of his pet theory. He, for the first time, has thoroughly analyzed Pausanias' topographical method. A careful perusal of the chapters on the description of cities and the plan of the work adds to the reader's appreciation of Pausanias' effectiveness as a guide and leads him to believe that Pausanias told the stories to increase interest in the monuments rather than to describe the monuments for the sake of the stories. So, for example, the centers and radii, given in the table on p. 226, correspond in a striking way with the "routes" outlined by Baedeker. Why are there so many "routes" and "radii," if only to tell stories? Why so many phrases like ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, οὐ πόρρω, πλῆσιον, and the like, if not to indicate directions?

In conclusion, Robert's masterful work presents results in harmony with the brief characterization of Pausanias in my *Attica* (Introduction, p. 7):

Similarity of treatment shows that we have in Pausanias the prototype of Baedeker and Murray. The second century was an age of travel, like our own, and many needed systematic direction to help them on the way. The public-house system was poor, but private hospitality, as in the earlier days, made some amends. Accordingly, the description of inns and other accommodations which Dionysus in the *Frogs* feels to be such a desideratum and which our Murray or Baedeker offers in great detail, is wanting, but in other respects the likeness between the ancient and the modern cicerone holds. Book I was meant primarily to be a guide-book for the Greek visitor to Athens and Attica, just as the whole volume was a guide-book for the generally frequented parts of Hellas, with special reference to works of art, like the modern Burckhardt. To gratify the intellectual curiosity of his readers, Pausanias fills his volume with mythical, antiquarian, and historical lore and he doubtless felt that his work would be serviceable to the historian as well as the traveller. Yet his main purpose was, without doubt, to provide a guide-book for visitors to the historic sites of Greece.

MITCHELL CARROLL

Greek Lands and Letters. By FRANCIS GREENLEAF ALLINSON
AND ANNE C. E. ALLINSON. New York: Houghton Mifflin
Co., 1909. Pp. xvi+472. \$2.50.

If the traveler to whom the authors hope that "this book may prove useful as a companion" takes it with him instead of the trusty Baedeker, he is likely to find it a broken reed; but if he picks it up after a day of sight-seeing, he will be delighted to have his dream-pictures rounded out in so charming a style. A "wider range of readers" too will surely find it "suggestive in appraising what is most vital in our 'Hellenic heritage.'"

"The purpose of this book is to interpret Greek lands by literature, and Greek literature by local associations and the physical environment." So the keynote is sometimes literary, sometimes topographical. But the book is neither pedantic nor didactic, and the reader is not often disturbed by the change of pitch, though he occasionally may feel that a new subject has been dragged in by the ears, as when an Athenian cab-driver, "obstinate as the corpse in Aristophanes's *Frogs*," is used to pull in a page of dialogue from the play, or the donkey of Dionysus and Xanthias, just afterward, to connect with the past the burden-bearers of modern Athens. The easy method permits the introduction of various themes: now "a few of the more obvious passages, illustrating the Greek attitude toward nature," a charming sketch withal; now a brief outline of Greek oratory or philosophy. But we gladly follow, and we even absolve the authors for the breakneck speed with which we scurry about Boeotia; from Plataea to Mount Ptoon, to Orchomenus, to Helicon, to Thespieae, to Tanagra, to Anthedon, to Aspera and Hesiod, in a dozen pages. The style is always brilliant and entertaining, and the abundant quotations from ancient literature, mainly from the poets, are worthily translated. The book is illustrated with a score of maps and halftones; the best are the double-page reproduction of a French painting of "Renan on the Acropolis" and the frontispiece, a water-color sketch of the Propylaea by Professor Herbert Richard Cross.

The authors' "intimate acquaintance with Greek," both "lands and letters," is undoubted. In not many places are errors found. The location of the Athenian Agora "west of the 'Theseum' hill" (p. 110) is probably a slip of the pen. A lapse of memory must lie below the reference to "the intense brilliance of the very white *marble* columns" (p. 187) of the Aeginetan temple of Aphaea. Somewhat dogmatic are statements that the extant columns of the Olympieum at Athens "date from Hadrian's time" (p. 65), that for Epaminondas "the fatal blow was generally believed to have been struck by Xenophon's son, Grylus" (p. 360), or that the sculptural fragments from Tegea are "from the hand of Scopas himself" (p. 364). Such remarks might well be qualified

or explained. Perhaps no one will be seriously misled by the comment, "For more than one thousand summers successively the full moon looked down upon the myriads of visitors" to Olympia, though the inference might be drawn that the Olympic festival was annual—which illustrates one of the greatest dangers of rhetorical composition. But let him that cavils beware! Few scholars can soar to so lofty rhetorical heights without danger from an Icarian sea of bombast. Professor and Mrs. Allinson have done their work admirably.

CHARLES H. WELLER

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Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren. Von GEORG VON BRAUCHITSCH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910. Pp. 180, 37 text cuts, 1 plate.

This book is the author's somewhat amplified doctoral dissertation at the University of Jena. It will be welcomed by students of Greek vases, for a general survey of the Panathenaic prize amphorae has for some time been needed. It would seem, however, as if the list of specimens here given (pp. 6-74) might have been extended by correspondence. One or two, for example, of the official character might have been added from the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

The treatise concerns only such amphorae as bear the official designation τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀθλῶν; it begins with an introduction in which the principle of the author's chronological arrangement of the vases is explained—an arrangement which depends largely upon an analysis of the changes that take place in the figure of Athena, the type of her garment, and especially of her helmet. The introduction is followed by a catalogue of specimens, which contains 130 numbers, including inscribed fragments. In the classification the earlier (sixth century B.C.) vases are of course separated from the later ones (fourth century); and within these two groups various chronological divisions are recognized, these being based upon stylistic peculiarities which are carefully presented in the descriptions. The rest of the book is taken up with the discussion of various topics suggested by the vases, in the following order: chronology, form and decoration, the dress of Athena, the pillars and the symbolic figures upon them, the devices on the shields, the inscriptions, the athletic representations on the reverse, the technique, the purpose of the prize amphorae, and the relation of the representation of Athena to established plastic types.

These topics are well treated and furnish an excellent conspectus of the various interesting questions to which the Panathenaic amphorae give rise. In the main the author holds to De Witte's view, that the victors in the games received a certain quantity of oil, but that the real prize of honor consisted in a crown and a painted vase, which latter served

as an official record of success. The vase might then pass down in families as an heirloom, a fact which seems to be illustrated by the representation of an amphora in a mosaic at Delos (*Annual of the British School* III, Pl. 16). The discussion of the athletic scenes on the reverse of the vases is a useful part of the treatise, and so too are the closing pages on the type of the representation of Athena. The author is an advocate of the view that there were two early statuesque types of Athena, which were objects of religious cultus, one a peaceful, seated figure, the Polias, the other warlike in type. This latter type, as an object of religious worship in sanctuaries, he finds represented on several early vases, and believes that it assumes the essential form of the Athena of the Panathenaic vases during the era of Peisistratus, who would appropriately have placed such a statue in his Hecatompedon. The suggestion is worth making, even if it be a matter not susceptible of proof.

As a whole the book is good, but it should have been given indices. This is an unfortunate omission in such a work. To No. 89, p. 56, the place of publication (*Classical Review*, 1900, p. 475) should have been added. This number is an inscribed fragment which Professor Tarbell published, and it should be referred to in Dr. Brauchitsch's discussion of the inscriptions on p. 123, since it gives an example of a *kionedon* inscription between the dates of the archons Polyzelus and Themistocles, and shows that No. 83 is not the only specimen before the archon Pythodelus upon which an inscription (the archon's in the case of No. 89) is placed outside of a column. Professor Tarbell (*Classical Review*, *loc. cit.*) has shown further that the fragments from the archonship of Themistocles (Nos. 90, 91) are inscribed in the same way, and that they were misunderstood when published.

J. R. WHEELER

Vetii Valentis Anthologiarum Libri. Primum edidit GUILIELMUS KROLL. Berlin: Weidmann, 1908. Pp. i-xvii; 1-420. M. 16.

The existence of the astrological work of Vettius Valens has long been known to modern scholars, but although it was used by Scaliger, Salmasius, and others, it has remained unedited until the present day. Some years since at Usener's suggestion Ernest Riess undertook to prepare an edition, but finally abandoned his plan and placed the material he had gathered at the disposal of Wilhelm Kroll, who has now given us an admirable *editio princeps*, such as only a sound classical philologist, well versed in ancient astrology, could prepare. The text rests primarily on a Codex Vaticanus Gr. 191 of the fourteenth century, whose present gaps are supplied by a Selden manuscript in Oxford, which was copied from the Vaticanus in the sixteenth century; for Books I and II a Codex Marcianus 314 of the fourteenth century is also of value. Yet in all a

considerable portion has been lost at the beginning which must have included the *προτρεπτικοὶ λόγοι* of which Valens speaks at the opening of the second book.

Our knowledge of Valens is derived almost wholly from his work. We learn that he was poor and forced to travel in search of a livelihood, which he gained both by casting horoscopes and by inducting others into the noble science of astrology; indeed he composed his work for the advantage of his pupils, to one of whom, a certain Marcus, it is addressed. Although in the superscription the author is called *Ουέτιος Ουάλης Ἀντιοχεύς*, he clearly derived his learning from Egypt, for he employs the Egyptian names of the months and reckons time according to the Alexandrians, and in one passage states that he traveled in Egypt (p. 172, 3ff. *ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὴν μὲν χώραν διαδεύσαντες καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διελθόντες κτλ*). Valens made no claim to originality; he proposed to provide his pupils with a clear account of the learning of the ancients, and therefore called his work *ἀνθολογία*. Unhappily, however, he was not equal to the task of digesting his sources and arranging his material satisfactorily in chapters as he wished to do; at times in confusion he introduces conflicting doctrines and repeats himself. In one passage (p. 157, 28-33) he shows that he was himself conscious that his work was not perfect, and asks for his readers' indulgence on the ground of his infirmities. But the defects of his work did not prevent it from exerting great influence on astrological writers from the fourth to the sixteenth century.

Kroll is probably right in assigning Valens to the age of the Antonines. The dates which he gives in his examples of *geniturae* vary from the first year of Nero's reign to the twentieth of that of Antoninus Pius, but most fall within Hadrian's reign. This fact Kroll interprets to mean that the majority of those who applied to Valens for horoscopes were born under Hadrian; he therefore places the floruit of Valens in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and regards the passage at the close of chap. xix of Book I, in which the list of the emperors is carried down to Gordianus and Philip, as an addition to the original work. It should be noted, however, that in general there is much in the language which may point to the third or even the fourth century, and that it is wholly possible, if not indeed probable, that the work has suffered additions and revisions which cannot today be readily detected. The study of the language, which has been promised by one of Kroll's pupils, may show some of the strata which probably exist; in any case it should contribute much to our knowledge of the later colloquial *κοινή*, for the speech which Valens employed was that of the people and far removed from the literary language.

The publication of this work adds much to our knowledge of ancient astronomy and astrology. In the latter we today have little interest, but still we must be grateful for the new light which Valens throws on

the civilization of his age. Future studies in the subject-matter of his work will undoubtedly enucleate valuable additions to our acquaintance with the second century.

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Poeti Latini Minori, testo critico commentato da Gaetano Curcio.

Vol. II, fasc. 2, *Appendix Vergiliana*, "Dirae," "Lydia," "Ciris." Catania: Francesco Battiato editore, 1908. 8vo, pp. 196.

The second fascicle of the *Appendix Vergiliana* follows the general plan of the first, containing the "Priapea," "Catalepton," "Copa," "Moretum," published in 1905. The appearance in 1907 of the critical edition by Robinson Ellis of the *Appendix Vergiliana* lends a special interest to the problems of the text, and naturally suggests a comparison of the two works from this point of view. There is no evidence that C. had made any use of Ellis' edition, or had even seen it, and the work of the two scholars is therefore independent. For the "Ciris" they are on common ground, and make use of the same MSS; but in the "Dirae" and the "Lydia" the divergence is little short of remarkable. Of the six MSS used by Curcio, and the ten used by Ellis, they have only two in common, viz., Vat. 3252, s. ix (B), and Vat. 3269, s. xv (designated as A by Curcio and as v by Ellis). In addition to these Curcio has used the following, all Italian, collated by himself: Vat. 1586, s. xv (C), Vat. Urb. 350 (D), Laurentianus 33, 31, s. xiv (L), containing scholia on the "Dirae," and Laurentianus 39, 18, s. xv. (L'). In addition to the two MSS already mentioned Ellis made use of the readings of the following: Paris. 7927, s. x (P), Paris. 8093, s. x (E), Paris. 17177, s. xi (S=Stabulense fragmentum), Bodl. Auct. F. 1, 17, s. xiv (F), Harl. 3963, s. xv (h), Mus. Brit. 16562, script. A.D. 1400 (b), Monacensis. 18059, s. xi (T), Mellicensis, s. xi (M). It is difficult to see on what principle Curcio selected his MSS, other than their convenient location in Italy. A glance at his critical apparatus is sufficient to show that, of his six MSS, all Italian, the last five ACDLL' are closely related to each other and to b of Ellis' list, and are clearly descended from a common ancestor of a relatively late date. Their consensus alone has real value. His apparatus, therefore, compared with that of Ellis is one-sided and defective. Ellis, on the other hand, gives from the family bACDLL', just mentioned, the readings of b A, which are fairly representative of the group, and the following MSS of the eleventh century or earlier, TMSPE, of considerable independent value. Although Curcio's apparatus is not representative, his collations of D C L L' have been made with care and will be useful to students of the "Dirae" and "Lydia." In dealing with the text of the three poems Curcio has been on the whole conservative

and in a considerable number of passages has returned from the conjectures of previous editors to MS readings. To the "Lydia" he has appended the verses contained in Laurent. 33, 31, which, however, have a curious rather than a real value, as examples of late mediaeval guess-work.

The somewhat lengthy introductions to the poems include a literary analysis; a discussion of the metrical features of each, with statistics as to the various verse forms, caesurae, etc.; a section on language and style; and a complete collection of literary parallels from late republican and Augustan poets, especially from Lucilius, Lucretius, Catullus, and Vergil for the "Dirae" and "Lydia," and from Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Propertius, Malius, and the other poems of the *Appendix* for the "Ciris." Most of this material, part of which is original, and part compiled from other sources, will be found useful and leads up to the debated question of the authorship and date of the poems. In the light of his own studies and those of other scholars, his conclusions are briefly as follows: that the "Dirae" and "Lydia" are the work of a single author, who is not Vergil, and who may from internal evidence be assigned to the "Catullian or pre-Vergilian" period; that the author of the "Ciris" cannot be identified, but that he was an imitator of Vergil. These conclusions are negative and safe.

In his commentary, which is relatively free from the unnecessary erudition with which learned commentaries are often overloaded, he confines himself for the most part to the elucidation of the poet's meaning. Many of the notes, however, strike one as a little elementary for the class of readers who would be likely to consult so pretentious a critical edition.

F. W. SHIPLEY

Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei. Libri xxii. Vol. I, Libri i-xiii. Tertium recognovit B. DOMBART. Leipsic: Teubner, 1909. M. 5.

The late Professor Dombart, who in the course of his long career did so much to advance the study of St. Augustine, had at the time of his death almost completed the first volume of his third edition of the *De Civitate Dei*. This revision was completed and prepared for the press by Alfonsus Kalb.

The *praefatio*, increased from the five pages of the edition of 1877 to twenty-eight, is devoted to a study of the numerous manuscripts of the *De Civitate Dei*, incorporating considerable matter from Hoffmann's edition in the Vienna Corpus, especially the description of L and A examined by him. In conclusion, on the basis of a study of the read-

ings of books i-ii, a stemma is presented showing the probable relationship of the chief manuscripts. L, A, and P represent one line of tradition; C, K, and A, a second, while A¹ seems to have been influenced by the first group. This result must naturally be regarded as only tentative, until a similar study is made of the remaining books. May a worthy successor be found to continue the difficult task!

I have noted in all 351 readings where a change has been made from the second edition of 1877. A relatively large number of these are found either in the chapter-titles, which were probably not written by Augustine and do not appear in all manuscripts, or in the quotations from the Bible, where the likelihood of error is increased by the tendency of the scribe to follow the Vulgate or other familiar versions. The problem of determining the true text of Augustine's Bible is still very far from finding a solution.

In the body of the work, there is no change that materially affects the meaning of the passage. In a large number of instances we have the transposition of words inside a natural word-group, and here greater importance apparently is attached to L A C, or even C alone, than to A. It should be added also that often the order of the early editions seemed blindly to follow Duebner and is not supported by any good manuscript. There are numerous changes in spelling. *Urguere* is throughout written for *urgere*; *dammulae* takes the place of *damulae*; *Aesculanum* and *Chucacina* (words not cited elsewhere) appear instead of the earlier *Aescolanum* and *Cloacina*.

Those for whom the unusual in syntax has special charm will regret that in ii. 7. *ad erudiendum iustitiam iuventutem* has been changed to the orthodox *ad erudiendam iustitia iuventutem*, where Dombart now refuses to follow C. In ii. 20. *diu noctuque* is read, not *die noctuque* as in the earlier editions. Numerals are consistently written in the form *triginta et novem*, not *triginta novem* as before. Two interesting changes are *lutor* (vi. 10) for the earlier *litor* (a form otherwise unknown) and *propolis* (vii. 26) for *populis*. In ii. 27, the baffling *philosophaster* still remains, a term of reproach that Augustine would scarcely have applied to Cicero.¹

The references to the scriptural quotations have been increased, and the footnotes also supply a considerable number of new sources or parallels, both pagan and Christian. The list might have been still further enlarged by the use of Dr. Angus' dissertation, *The Sources of Augustine's "De Civitate Dei."*

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¹See note of Professor Frank (*Classical Philology*, October, 1909, p. 436). Augustine's real attitude toward Cicero is illustrated by *Confessions* vii. 4, and by numerous passages in the *De Civitate Dei*.

Der Senat unter Augustus. Von T. A. ABELE. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1907. Pp. viii+78. M. 2.40.

This study owes its inception to an address made by Eduard Meyer before a meeting of historians at Heidelberg in 1903, in which the thesis was maintained that Augustus attempted to establish an actual dyarchy in which the senate, as the representative of the old republic and the depository of its powers, was to have an equal position with the *princeps*, who was to be only the first citizen. Meyer's address at the time called forth vigorous opposition. Abele has undertaken to collect and examine the data bearing on the relations of the senate and Augustus to secure if possible a settlement of the question raised by Meyer's address. The greater part of Abele's brochure is taken up with a chronological list of senatorial acts extending from 36 B.C. to 14 A.D. Unfortunately this collection is not complete: all acts relating to religion and all honorary decrees are omitted, in spite of the fact that it is impossible to get a satisfactory conception of the position and competence of the senate without considering all its acts. It is hard to understand why Abele should have chosen the chronological arrangement, which puts difficulties in the way of the reader who is not already familiar with the material; if the acts had been properly grouped according to subject and purpose, it would have been easy to show what changes were introduced with the lapse of time. As it is, the reader must make such grouping for himself with no aid from Abele.

The results of the investigation are given briefly in the second part of the work (pp. 66-78). It appears that from the battle of Actium to the death of Augustus the power of the senate was steadily diminished, while Augustus gradually took to himself all the essential powers of the republican magistrates. Abele could have to advantage thrown more weight than he has done (pp. 67ff.) on the enormous power which the *princeps* had over the senate by virtue of the *electio senatus*; and he should have emphasized the inevitable effect on the position of the senate produced by the equal power which the edicts of the emperor had with the senatorial acts.

There is unfortunately no index.

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Commentationes Aenipontanae. Quas edunt E. KALINKA et A. ZINGERLE. I. De Clausulis Minucianis. A. Ausserer ad Aenipontem. 1906. Pp. 96.

The subject of metrical clausulae is decidedly in the air and it is apparently difficult for the student of any classical author to escape the

contagion. In the case of Minucius Felix, however, the peculiar position of his *Octavius* in the transition from pagan to Christian Latin and its surprising dependence upon its chief source, the *De natura deorum* of Cicero, sufficiently explain the importance and the interest of such an investigation as that here presented. Ausserer finds his starting-point in the four forms which Zielinski in the well-known study *Das Klauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* has shown to be the favorite clausulae of Cicero. To the first three of these belong approximately 95 per cent of the 679 clausulae of the *Octavius*, while the fourth is but slightly represented and a few other metrical combinations of a rather bewildering variety are also discovered.

Probably the greatest interest of this investigation is to be found in the possible light thrown upon the dark places of the readings of the one poor manuscript in which the *Octavius* has been preserved. Some seventy passages are discussed by Ausserer from this point of view, and it is noteworthy that in several instances (e.g., *labiis pressit*, chap. ii) the reading of P is preferred on metrical grounds in opposition to the emendations accepted by modern editors.

The text of Boenig has been followed in the main, while for the convenience of the reader, references are also given to the edition of Halm in the Vienna Corpus.

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Plato, Apology of Socrates and Crito, with Extracts from the Phaedo and Symposium and from Xenophon's Memorabilia.
 Edited by LOUIS DYER, revised by THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.
 With a Vocabulary. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1908. Pp. 246.

This is a revision of the Cron-Dyer *Apology and Crito*, to which Professor Seymour has added other passages with commentary, a vocabulary, and indices. The notes have been simplified and better adapted to the needs of the American schoolboy.

The critical notes are limited to a list of the changes from Dyer's text and another list showing the deviations from the texts of notable German editions, viz., the Cron-Uhle ed. of the *Apology and Crito*, Wohlrab's *Phaedo*, Hug's *Symposium*, and the Breitenbach-Mücke ed. of the *Memorabilia*. One readily accepts the changes from Dyer's text, except the bracketing of *πάλαί* *Apol.* 31d which removes an effective repetition; less readily, some of the deviations from the texts of the German editors. The following readings, adopted by Seymour, are open to criticism: *Apol.* 22a, *ἴνα μοι*. The conjecture of Stephanus *ἴνα μή μοι* is now confirmed by Δ and the Armenian version. Socrates' assumed "attitude of opposition," shown in his effort to refute the oracle (*ὥς . . . ἐλέγξων* 21c), is kept up consistently in this and succeeding passages (cf.

ὡς . . . καταληφόμενος 22b).—24a, τοῖς αὐτοῖς is ill-suited to the context, whereas either Heindorf's τοῦτοις αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις which is implied in the Arm. vers. gives the desired meaning.—26e, μὲν is unnecessary and has little support.—31b, μέντοι, though accepted by Baumlein, does not go well with the καὶ that precedes or the δὲ that follows. Read μὲν (Cobet's conj.) with W or accept Göbel's attractive emendation καίτοι εἰ μὲν τι.—31d, ἀπολώλη, 36a, ἀποπεφύγη should have the augment; cf. Schanz XII, p. xii, Meisterhans 170, 6.—Crito 46a, δέ τι. Prefer δ' ἔτι; cf. ἔτι l. 24.

The commentary contains many corrections and improvements on Dyer's notes. The following points, however, may be criticized: 25b, τοῖναντίον πᾶν. It is somewhat better to explain this as being in apposition with the following sentence than as an adverbial accusative. The same is true in 34a, where it is not the object of εὐρήσετε, as the punctuation would seem to indicate.—26d, ὥστ' οὐκ εἶδέναι. οὐ is due to the indirect discourse, as Professor Gildersleeve showed in his review of Dyer (*AJP* VI 523; cf. VII 174, XXI 110). Yet S. still keeps most of Dyer's note.—27d, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη. φάναι is not "appended" to the relative clause. It explains τοῦτο the subject, not the relative clause which is the predicate.—35c, ὁμώμοκεν οὐ χαμεῖσθαι. οὐ does not go with the inf., as S. thinks, but with ὁμώμοκεν (cf. *AJP* I 49). S. finds οὐ in the dicasts' oath (οὔτε χάριτος ἔνεκα) and believes that this οὐ is retained here in indir. disc. But "ὁμνυμι . . . is perfectly steady" in taking μή after it. Since this and other negatives are discussed, a note is needed on "oracular" μή 21a, deliberative μή 22e, and οὐ in a protasis 34c (εἰ=ὄτι).—41b, ἀγοντα. S.'s note to the effect that "extreme accuracy [in the use of tenses] is not aimed at" here, is hard to understand; cf. his "indifferent" in the note on 26d 22. ἀγοντα="who was the leader of," the durative tense causing the mind to dwell on the exercise of the office of leader. ἀγαγόντα which most editors adopt is simply "who led."—Crito 44c, ὡς οἷός τ' ὄν. The participle expresses cause or ground of belief, not concession.—49e, δίκαια ὄντα, 50a, δίκαιοις οὖσιν. No notice is taken of Professor Shorey's note (*CJ* II 80) in which he shows plainly that these participles are not supplementary but circumstantial, that they do not take the place of the usual inf. in indir. disc. after ὁμολογεῖν, as Goodwin, Kühner-Gerth, and Stahl think, but denote limitation or condition.

Some small errors have been noted: P. 7, l. 35, *Phidippides* for *Strepsiades*; p. 43, 19 note, omit ἐστὶ or the note that follows it; p. 49, 8 n., σοφὸς for σοφόν; p. 56, 1 n., 22d for 21b; p. 117, 32 n., *fin.* for *init.*; p. 194, changes from Dyer's text at 28d 30 and 31d 12 have been omitted; pp. 194-5, omissions occur in the other list at 23d 14, 27e 34, 31d 13, 33e 25, 36a 7, 41b 37.

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